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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

JUNE, 1930

VOLUME XLIV NUMBER 869

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EDITED BY

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THE DEVIL-COMPACT IN LEGEND AND LITERATURE

BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

THE tradition of the devil-compact took deep roots in popular fancy as well as in Catholic belief. It loomed up in the tenth century as the vital point of a legend and gathered around itself an enormous material. In the form of the Theophilus-legend, which, in the sixteenth century, merged into the Faust-myth, it entered the literatures of all European countries and formed the subject of poem and play, novel and short story, throughout the civilized world for full thousand years.

The story of the compact closed by Theophilus with the Devil is briefly as follows: Theophilus was a bishop's seneschal or vicedominus, living in the sixth century, at Adana in Cilicia, Asia Minor. He was so highly esteemed by the priesthood and by the community that, upon the death of his bishop, he was considered worthy of the bishopric. But, through modesty, he declined the proferred dignity. The new bishop, to whom Theophilus was calumniated, resenting the fact that he was second choice, was only too glad to deprive him of his position in the church. In order to recover his post, he enlisted the services of a Jewish magician, who secured for him an appointment with the Devil. Diabolus demanded of Theophilus a document signed and sealed with his own hand, in which the deposed priest promised to deliver to the Devil his own soul and in addition agreed to deny Christ and the Virgin. The day following the conclusion of the contract, the bishop honorably reinstated Theophilus in his former position. But after seven years of riotous living, realizing that his end was near, he repented of his act. For forty days and forty nights he fasted and prayed to the Blessed Virgin for pardon of his sins. She, however, first turned

a deaf ear to his prayers because he had broken faith with her. But finally the Mother of all Mercies took pity on the repentant sinner. As he prostrated himself in his church at the foot of her altar at midnight, she descended from heaven, bent over him, stroked his burning brow, and assured him of pardon if he would deny the Devil and return to Christ. Mother Mary then interceded with her Son to show indulgence toward the penitent sinner. She demanded from the Devil the parchment and placed it upon the breast of Theophilus as he lay asleep in the Church. Upon awakening, the repentant priest found the fatal contract, by which he had pawned his soul to Satan, and cast the document into the flames. Three days later, after having publicly proclaimed before the congregation his penitence and the miracle of his preservation, Theophilus passed gently away in blessed peace, and the Church inscribed his name on the roll of her saints as Theophilus the Penitent.[1]

The story of Theophilus was purported to have been told by his pupil, Eutychianus, as a living witness. It was translated in the ninth century from the original Greek into Latin by Paulus Diaconus, spread in a variety of versions through Eastern and Western Christendom, and became one of the treasures of saintly legend in the Western Catholic Church. This story was a stock item in medieval collections of miracles and exampla. Vincent of Beauvais inserted it in his *Speculum Historiale* and Jacobus de Voragine introduced it into his *Legenda aurea* (both manuscripts of the thirteenth century).

The first poetical treatment given the Theophilus legend was the play in Latin hexameters *Lapsus et conversio Theophili vicedomini* written in the tenth century by the first original German woman poet and dramatist, Hroswitha or Roswitha, the learned abbess of the Benedictine convent of Gandersheim. Brun von Schönbecke incorporated this legend in his poem, *Die Ehre der Maria*, composed about 1276. In this quaint poem, the contract was sealed not with blood, but with a ring, a *motif* which frequently occurs in medieval literature. Three low German and two Icelandic dramatic versions of this legend date from the fourteenth century.[2]

[1] On the Theophilus legend, see E. Sommer's Latin thesis *De Theophili cum Diabolo foedere* (Halle, 1844).

[2] For the bibliography on the low German versions of the Theophilus play, see the present writer's book, *A Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama* (Pittsburgh, 1924), pp. 65-67.

The first poetic treatment of this legend in France is the early thirteenth-century poem of Gautier de Coincy, *le Miracle de Théophile*. It was given dramatic form in France toward the end of that century by a *trouvère* named Rutebeuf in his *Miracle de Théophile*.[3] There are also five renderings of the Theophilus legend in Spanish.

The Theophilus legend made its appearance in English about the year 1000, when Ælfric, in a *Homily on the Assumption of the Blessed Mary*, summarized it briefly with full mention of the written compact. Poetic versions of this legend are included in both the *South English Legendary* (thirteenth century) and in the *North English Homilies* (fourteenth century). There is still a third poetic version extant in Middle English. The story also appears in the *Alphabet of Tales* written in fifteenth-century English. In 1572 the priest Wiliam Forrest rhymed the legend afresh in a poem, which forms part of his work, *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary with other Poems* and which was intended as a kind of apology for the Roman Catholic religion. A prose version of it occurs also in Thomas Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells* (1635).

Among the recent dramatizations of this story may be mentioned Mr. B. C. Greene's *Théophile* (1903), and A. Kingsley Porter's *The Virgin and the Clerk* (1929). The latter play is a clever work of satire, philosophy, and religion. According to Porter's interpretation of the old legend, Canon Theophilus refuses the bishopric of Adana in order to dedicate himself to the writing of a hymn to the Virgin. Unable to accomplish this task, he sells his soul in exchange for success. The roots of the soul, however, are deep, and the song to the Virgin is, after all, heard—and answered.[4]

[3] This play will be found in the first complete edition of the works of Rutebeuf prepared by Achille Jubinal in 1874, t. II, p. 231 sqq. A critical edition of Rutebeuf's *Théophile* was prepared in 1925 by an American woman, Mrs. Grace Frank. Léon Clédat has put this medieval text into a modern French version.—This interesting play also attracted the latter-day diabolist, Remy de Gourmont, who, in 1896, brought out a modern version accompanied by an excellent introductory essay.

[4] On the legend of Theophilus in medieval poetry, consult K. Plenzat's thesis, *Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters*. Berlin, 1926. (Germanische Studien, XLIII).—The items on the Theophilus legend in England have been drawn from Professor George Lyman Kittredge's thorough work, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 239. A critical edition of the later English version of the Theophilus legend, accompanied by an introduction, was published by Eugen Kölbing in the *Englische Studien*, I (1877), 16-57.

The legend of Militarius is an adaptation of that of Theophilus. It is the story of a soldier who, in order to prolong a life of pleasure, forms a bond with Beelzebub, but is finally saved and restored to salvation through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, whom he has not named among the saints of heaven he has renounced.[5]

*
* *

The idea of the devil-compact was also introduced into the medieval legend of St. Cyprian, which Calderón, the greatest of Spanish dramatists, took, in the seventeenth century, for the subject of his lyrical play, *El Mágico prodigioso*. In this version, Cyprian, of Antioch, a great philosopher and a very expert magician, is in love with Justina, a damsel living in his native city. She is of high birth and great beauty, and, moreover, is an ardent Christian. He tries in many ways to win her love, and she, in just as many ways, resists his every effort. As a last resort, Cyprian sells his soul to the Devil, who promises to put Justina in his possession. But finding that the Devil has no power over the fair Christian, who renders all his temptations impotent by calling on God, Cyprian will no longer have anything to do with a weak devil, is converted to the stronger power, received into the Church, and dies the death of a martyr with Justina, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (284-305).

The contract between the Devil and Cyprian is first mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, where the agreement is verbal. In Calderón's drama, however, the pact between the Devil and Cyprian is signed with blood. Comparing Goethe's play with that of Calderón, we find that the two have in common the point that the demon is not in a position to perform his exact engagements, and consequently loses out in the end. The two plays differ in the fact that Cyprian gives himself to the Devil to have and to hold with a definite desire as the incentive, but Faust closes a contract with the Devil in order to obtain such general objects as strength, self-development and enjoyment.[6]

[5] The legend of Militarius was treated by Gotefridus Thenesis (Gottfried von Thienen) in a narrative written in leonine hexameters, of which a specimen is given by Professor Karl Alexander von Reichlin-Meldegg in his study on the subject.

[6] Concerning the parallels between the Cyprian-legend and the Faust-saga, consult Sánchez Antonio Moguel: *Memoria acerca de "El Mágico prodigioso" de Calderón y en especial sobre las relaciones de este drama con el "Fausto" de Goethe*, Madrid, 1881. This work was translated into French by J. G. Magnabel (Paris, 1883), and into German by Johannes Fastenrath (Leipzig, 1882). See also Zahn: *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage*, Erlangen, 1882.

*
* *

Many other legends of devil-compacts will be found in medieval writings. Among the good deeds of St. Wulfric, the hermit of Haselbury in Dorset, who died in 1154, we find that on a certain occasion he forced the return of a contract signed with the Devil by a Northern man who, under stress of poverty, had formed an alliance with hell, but who later repented and appealed for help to the pious hermit. Walter Map, writing in the same country, tells of Eudo, a rich young baron, who, after having been reduced to poverty by extravagance, closed a pact with the Devil and grew rich by robbery and murder. But he at last repented of his rash act, and sought out the Bishop of Beauvais, whom he found beyond the walls of the city near a great pyre that had been kindled to burn a witch. The wrathful bishop imposed upon him the penance of leaping upon this pyre. Eudo straightway obeyed and was burned to death.[7]

Among the legendary figures believed to have closed a compact with the Devil we may also mention Zythe, who lived in Bohemia in the fifteenth century, and Twardowski, the Polish equivalent of the German Faust, who is said to have been a contemporary of the wizard of Wittenberg. Twardowski made rather unusual demands upon the Devil, requiring the latter to build a house for him out of poppy-seeds and to cover it with a roof composed of the beards of Jews. It should be added that he had his specifications fulfilled and was finally carried off to hell through the chimney of his curiously constructed house.[8]

*
* *

The legend of the devil-compact attaches itself also to a great number of historic personages. Among philosophers and scientists

Professor James Geddes has recently brought out an excellent critical edition of Calderón's play for American classes. The influence of Calderón's drama is evident in Jules Lemaitre's story, "la Vierge sarrasine" (1889), in which, by the purity of a young and innocent girl, the Devil is driven out of a statue of the Black Virgin, which he inhabited.

[7] These two instances of medieval pacts have been taken from Professor Kittredge's book already mentioned.

[8] Mr. Sutherland-Edwards has interpreted the legend of Twardowski for English readers in his article "The Faust Legend," *Macmillan Magazine*, XXXIV (1876), 268-75. Among the poetical versions of this legend, Mickiewicz's *Pan Twardowski* (1828) is best known. Other Polish poets, who treated this subject, are Korsak, Zielinski, Grosza, Szujski, Kaminski, Kraszewski and Urchlicky.

who were said to have sold their souls to Satan, for one consideration or another, are included Socrates, Apollonius of Tyana, Apuleius, Roger Bacon, Raymond Lulle, Lully or Lullus, Scaliger, Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Nostradamus, Servetus, Giordano Bruno, and Galileo. Of the theologians and religious reformers reputed to have entered into a pact with hell, we may mention Trithemius, Luther, Melanchthon and Calvin. Among the magicians and thaumaturgists believed to have leagued themselves with Lucifer, Simon Magus of biblical times and Jean de Fontenelle of the fifteenth century are best known. Among the men of the eighteenth century who were suspected of traffic with the infernal powers, we may include Cagliostro, a clever Italian student of the occult and magician, and the Duke of Luxembourg, the famous general of the imperial army and Marshal of France, the companion and successor of Condé and the opponent of William of Orange. The compact, which the Duke was believed to have concluded with the Devil, was given to the public full and complete in every paragraph.

Even the popes were not free from the suspicion of dealing with the Devil. An English poem of the fourteenth century ascribed the signing of a Satanic pact to Pope Cælestinus, who died in 432. The story of Gerbert (Sylvester II) and his pact with the Devil, by means of which the eminent medieval *savant* attained to the summit of earthly ambition at the cost of his immortal soul, is familiar to all who may be acquainted with medieval writings. It will be found in the *Gesta Regum* (twelfth century) of William of Malmesbury, from whom both Robert Holkot and Vincent of Beauvais borrowed it. This story also appears in the vernacular in the fifteenth-century *Alphabet of Tales* already mentioned, and is repeated by Bishop Pilkington, who lived in the following century. In Walter Map's account of Gerbert's ascension to the seat of Peter, Gerbert's supernatural protector is Meridiana, a fairy, in whom Professor Kittredge recognizes a feminine form of the *dæmonium meridianum* or Midday Demon.[9] Others thought that Gerbert had sold his soul to Satan not in return for the papacy, but in order to obtain from the Devil a knowledge of physics, arithmetic and music. Gerbert, as well as two distinguished Englishmen, Roger Bacon and Bishop Grosseteste, was popularly credited with the invention

[9] George Lyman Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

of a magical speaking head of brass.[10] Another illustrious occupant of St. Peter's Chair, Gregory VII, was also believed to have sold himself to the Devil, and to have paid the last penalty for his familiarity with the Fiend. The Popes Paul II and the notorious Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia),[11] were likewise supposed to have held commerce with the powers of hell.

*
* *

The story of Dr. Faustus is the most famous version of the legend of the devil-compact. Johannes Faustus, a laborious student, has drained dry the sources of intellectual satisfaction to be found in the various ordinary departments of human knowledge. Wearied and worried, but unsated, the voracious student turns to magic, and finally conjures up the demon Mephistopheles. With this demon Faust enters into a contract, binding Faust to surrender his body and soul to Mephistopheles at the end of twenty-four years and reciprocally binding Mephistopheles to be at Faust's command during that period, providing for him during that quarter-century his fill of miraculous exploits and sensual delights.

The legend of Dr. Faustus, as compared with that of Theophilus, shows the contrast between Protestantism and Catholicism with regard to the devil-compact. The arch-deacon of Adana, as we have seen, succeeded, through the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, in escaping his punishment for daring to deal with the Devil. But the wizard of Wittenberg was duly carried off to Hell by way of payment at the expiration of the bond. The Church, which forfeited its power at the Reformation, could not aid the man who had mortgaged his soul to Mephistopheles. Faust had to meet with the traditional doom. He was irrevocably damned, lost and fallen into the power of the Devil. The friend of the Fiend belonged to Hell.[12]

[10] The legend of Sylvester II will be found in J. von Döllinger's book, *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1863, second edition, 1890, English translation (*Fables Respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages*), London 1871. A brief account of this legend will also be found in Paul Carus's interesting book, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil* (Chicago, 1900).

[11] A good biography of this pope is F. L. Glaser's book, *Pope Alexander VI*. The infernal pact of this pontifical Faust has been treated by Barnabe Barnes in his play, *The Devil's Charter, or a Tragedy Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander VI* (1607). This play is the first attempt, after Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, to make a devil-motif the basis of a serious drama.

[12] A very interesting Protestant version of the devil-compact is the play, "The Bottomless Sack," written by Hans Sachs, a friend of Luther, on October 15, 1563. An English translation of this farce will be found in William Leighton's *Merry Tales and Shrovetide Plays by Hans Sachs* (London, 1910), pp. 210-15.

It should be added, however, that in the Faust legend the devil-compact is not the *root* but the *fruit* of Faust's sin, which consists in the abandonment of sacred for secular learning. The Faust legend is the creation of orthodox Protestantism, which, through it, expresses disapproval of the humanistic movement of its day. In fact, Faust had that interest in secular learning and that love of the beauty of the ancients which was common to all men of the Renaissance. He shared with the humanists of his day the wish to know all things, to do all things and to enjoy all things. Faust pays, by the forfeit of his soul, not so much for the foul pact with the Enemy of Mankind as for his revolt against the Word of God. The oldest Faust-book represents its hero as selling his soul to Satan solely in order to augment his learning and to comprehend that which cannot be known by the natural faculties of man. It is said of Faust in this book that he resolved "to search into all the deep things of heaven and of earth." Marlowe's play, *Dr. Faustus*, based on this account of Faust's life, also has its protagonist consign himself to the Devil in order to obtain from him a deeper understanding of the mysterious operations or secrets of natural laws. It was G. R. Widmann, in his Faust-book, who added the search for sensuous enjoyments to the conditions of the contract drawn up between Faust and the Fiend.

Faust may be considered a counterpart of Luther. Both Luther and Faust broke away from Rome. Luther drew nearer to the Lord; Faust looked to Lucifer for aid. Both Luther and Faust had dealings with the Devil. Luther warded off the Devil in the Wartburg by throwing an inkstand at his head; Faust summoned the Devil and admitted him into his cell. Both Luther and Faust had a thirst for knowledge. Luther loved sacred lore; Faust preferred secular learning. Both Luther and Faust disapproved of the celibacy of the clergy. Luther married; Faust sought sensual delights out of wedlock. Luther was victorious over the Devil; Faust finally fell into the Devil's clutches.

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The historicity of Faust has long been doubted. So much legend has been woven about his stark figure that historians have been hard put to arrive at the truth. On the strength of the testimony

of a few contemporaries, however, it is now generally accepted that Faust was an historical person, having lived during the first half of the sixteenth century. He was born in Kundling (Knittlingen) near Bretten, the birth place of Melanchthon, between 1480 and 1490, studied at the University of Cracow, and died, about the year 1549, in Staufen (Breisgau).

Faust appeared to his contemporaries as a doubtful wizard and a charlatan. According to their testimony, he was an eccentric fellow who supported himself by going about the country and passing himself off on the credulous folk as a great sorcerer and necromancer. He either hinted mysteriously or boasted openly of his knowledge of the occult, and the common folk of his day readily accepted his stories. Faust styled himself Magus Secundus Magister Georgius Sabellicus Faustus Junior and even assumed the title of Philosophus Philosophorum. He was accompanied by a younger man named Wagner, whom he called his famulus, and by a black dog trained to fetch him food, also called a famulus. Since both—his assistant and his dog—bore the same enigmatical name, might they not be one and the same—an embodied demon contrived by this master of Schwarzkunst or black magic?

When Faust met with a violent death toward the middle of the sixteenth century, it was believed that the wicked wizard had been carried off by the Devil, with whom he had concluded a compact, and who had helped him to perform the supernatural acts. Legend later elaborated the details of Faust's magic deeds and sad end. It was said that he had studied at the University of Wittenberg and come in contact with Martin Luther. It was reported that in 1525 he had incurred opprobrium by bestriding a barrel in Auerbach's wine-cellar at Leipzig. Rumor had it also that, when the period of the fatal contract between Faust and the Fiend was ended, the demons appeared at midnight and beckoned Faust to follow them. The next morning his body, torn limb from limb, was found lying on a dunghill in the village of Rimlich, near the town of Wittenberg. A number of his contemporaries, among them Melanchthon and Johann Wier, believed that the Devil had wrung Faust's neck. Johann Gast affirmed that Faust had been strangled by the Devil. This Protestant minister of Basel also recorded that Faust's "corpse

lay face downward on the bier all the time, though it was turned over five times."[13]

About forty years after Faust's death, his story was first told in a popular chap-book entitled *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* and printed by Johann Spiess in the year 1587 at Frankfort-on-the-Main. This work was the basis of a long series of popular books on Faust, chief among which figures Widmann's account published in 1599.

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Christopher Marlowe, a predecessor of Shakespeare, is the first great dramatist who was attracted to the Faust legend. His powerful drama, *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus* (c. 1589), is founded on an English translation, which appeared within less than two years after the publication of the original Frankfort Faust-book and which was entitled *History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Dr. John Faustus.*[14]

Marlowe's play follows in spirit and in details the popular account of Faust's character and career. The devil-compact is its central point and chief motive. Marlowe took the legend as he found it and turned it into a grim tragedy of sin and damnation. He did not give his play any philosophical interpretation, but it is pregnant with the old warning: "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" (Mark viii. 36). If Calderón's *El Mágico prodigioso* already mentioned

[13] On the Faust legend, see H. Düntzer: Die *Faustsage* (1846); Peter: *Literatur der Faustsage* (1851); K. Engel: *Literatur der Faustsage von 1510-1873* (1874); Karl Kiesewetter: *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition* (1893); P. Ristelhuber: *Faust dans l'histoire et dans la légende; essai sur l'humanisme superstitieu du XVIe siècle et les récits du pacte diabolique* (1863); E. Faligan: *Histoire de la légende de Faust* (1888); P. Saintyves: *la Légende du Docteur Faust in Collection d'Epopées et Légendes* (1926); V. Errati: *il Mito di Faust dal personaggio al poema di Goethe* (Bologna, 1924); "The Devil and Dr. Faustus," *Cornhill Magazine*, XIV (1866), 687-701; J. Oxenford: "*Faust*, Dramatic and Legendary" *Belgravia* I (1867), 188-90; Henry Schütz Wilson: "Facts and Fancies about Faust" (in his *Studies in History, Legend and Literature*, 1884); Henry Sutherland Edwards: *The Faust Legend; its Origin and Development from the Living Faustus of the First Century to the Faust of Goethe* (1886); James Hain Friswell: "Dr. John Faustus" (in his *Varia; Readings from Rare Books*, 1886); and Gabriel W. Gilbert: "The Legend of Faust and Mephistopheles," *The Mentor*, XVII, (1929), 1-14. R. A. Redford draws an interesting parallel between Faust and Prospero in his article, "Shakespeare and the Faust Legend," *Gentleman's Magazine*, CCLXXXV (1898), 547-66.

[14] A modernized edition of this Faust-book has been brought out by William Rose and published, in 1925, in the Broadway Translations. See W. E. P. Pantin's article "The Sources of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*," *Academy*, XXXI (1887), 449.

can be considered an apotheosis of the Catholic dogma of free-will, Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* is the poetic illustration of Protestant fatalism. Marlowe makes the Devil finally victorious. Faust has his period of power and pleasure by the Devil's aid, but the Devil must have his pay, and his pay is the soul of his ally. Faust technically repents, but not until his lease of enjoyment is run out, and Hell stands pyrotechnically agape. The sincerity of this kind of repentance, caused by the necessity of discharging a poignantly unpleasant debt, may well be questioned. There is actually no trace of regret for entering the infernal compact until punishment is impending; and then, by a stupendous touch of irony, Faust is dragged away to Hell just as his parched lips twist to shriek, in terror-stricken babblement, that sugared and langorous verse which Ovid whispered in Corinna's arms at the summit of life's felicity: "O lente, lente, currite noctis equi!"

Marlowe is at his unrivalled best in rehandling the legend of Faust. The scene of Faust's soliloquy as he awaits the stroke of midnight, which shall end the twenty-four years and bring his self-imposed doom, is impressive in its intensity and deservedly ranks among the finest specimens of poetic composition in any language.

Soon after its appearance, Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, together with other English plays, was brought over to Germany by strolling bands of English comedians, who performed it early in the seventeenth century in various German cities. The subject was soon taken up by companies of German actors, who followed Marlowe's play on broad lines. In this way, the dramatic form of the Faust legend was shaped in Germany for almost two hundred years. The Faust play, in a great variety of forms, continued as a popular item in the repertoires of the theatrical companies of Germany, until it was crowded off the stage by the French classical drama, which was considered the epitome of all excellence. The Faust-theme fell into the hands of travelling showmen, who amused the young with their marionettes. In this way, through a long procession of puppet-plays, handed down by tradition through generations of showmen, the Faust-story retained its popularity until almost to our own

[15] As we shall see later, Goethe first became acquainted with the Faust subject in the form of a puppet-play. On the popular Faust drama, see K. Engel: *Das Volksschauspiel von Doktor Johann Faust*, 2. Aufl., Oldenburg, 1882. This author has also published several volumes of old puppet-plays, among which will be found texts of Faust marionette-plays. Otto Schade's edition of the Faust puppet-play, first published in 1856, has been reprinted in the Insel-Bücherei No. 125.

days.[15] The following is the plot of a Faust puppet-play as summarized by Bielschowsky in his *Life of Goethe:*

"An investigator, unsatisfied by all his learning and deep meditation, consigns himself to the Devil, in order, through him, to acquire all sciences and arts, all treasures and enjoyments of the world, and for a period of time to feel like God. This he does, so far as lies within the Devil's power. Faust travels with the Devil through the world, becomes a magician, who has power over the living and dead, and tastes every kind of pleasure, even that of living at a ducal court, where he calls up the dead and wins the heart of the princess, until finally, sated with everything, though not satisfied, he repents and turns in earnest prayer to God. At this critical moment the Devil brings him Helena.[16] Captivated by her beauty, Faust gives up all pious thoughts of repentance, rushes toward her and embraces her. In his arms she is transformed into a Fury, and, robbed of earthly enjoyment and heavenly bliss, he is dragged away to Hell."[17]

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Lessing was the first to point out the poetic possibilities of the Faust legend. In his opposition to the vapid imitations of the French tragedies, and with the aim of showing what power lay in the old German popular plays, he essayed the subject of Faust in 1759 but never finished it. Lessing wished to turn the conclusion of his play to Faust's salvation. He would not permit his hero to fall into the power of the Devil. In the century of enlightenment, in which Lessing lived, love of secular learning, even error and heresy, were no longer considered crimes. Referring to the desire of knowledge and the love of truth which, in the century of the Reformation, constituted Faust's sin, Lessing wrote: "God has not given man the noblest of impulses to make him unhappy." The story of Faust's condemnation to hell was, in Lessing's opinion, immoral and hence untrue. In his proposed Faust play, the devils, in anger at losing their prey, were to be beaten back by the angels with the words: "Ye shall not prevail!"

The subject of Faust was essayed by many other German writers in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The new interest and new attraction that the Faust legend had for those men Bielschowsky explains by the striking similarity of that period to the Renaissance epoch. The poet-painter Friedrich Müller, known in Germany as

[16] Helena was the wife of Menelaus, a woman of surpassing beauty, who was carried off to Troy by Paris and thus became the cause of the Trojan Wars (*Iliad* iii. 165).

[17] Albert Bielschowsky: *Life of Goethe.* Translated from the German by William A. Cooper (3 vols., New York, 1905-08), III, 251-2.

Maler Müller and also as *Teufelsmaler* Müller, who worked on this material in 1776 to 1778, wished in his *Fausts Leben dramatisiert* to employ the Faust legend as a satirical portrait of the age. The Faust dramas by Julius Graf von Soden and Johann Friedrich Schink also merit attention.

Friedrich Maximilian Klinger's philosophical work, *Fausts Leben, Taten und Höllenfahrt* (1791), is less a novel than a political pamphlet.[18] It may aptly be called a devil's-eye view of human history. In his novel, Klinger follows that version of the Faust legend which identified the famous magician Johannes Faust of the chap-books with Hans Fust or Johannes Faust, a goldsmith and member of a rich burgher-family of Mayence, who was the financial backer and partner of Gutenberg, the inventor of the art of printing. The two partners were suspected of meddling with forbidden books of magic, and of performing evil witchery. They were also accused of plunging into sorcerous formulæ in a quest for the magic stone of the old philosophers and for their lost secret of transforming cheap metals into gold. Faust, who later obtained the machinery from Gutenberg and set up a printing press in Paris, was especially considered a magician and a servant of Satan. The red letters, which he used in the colophons at the close of his earliest printed volumes, were interpreted by his contemporaries as proof of the black art which originated the works so easily produced by him. The multiplication of the Bible considered especially dangerous and sinful by the Catholics also contributed to the diabolical reputation of the Paris printer.

In Klinger's novel, Faust is a superman superb in his spirit of rebellion against "all the old-established customs of society." He is the incarnation of the Romantic revolt against all social and moral laws that hold men in chains. Faust sells himself to Satan not to obtain from him wealth or physical enjoyment but in order to learn from him "the secrets of human destiny and the reason for moral evil in the world." And for Faust the Devil can invent no greater agony than to keep him ignorant of the very problems that torment him. Faust's own personal sufferings concern him less than man's moral misery. He has great faith in the goodness of man. "You

[18] On this work consult G. J. Pfeiffer's study, *F. Klinger's "Faust." Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung*. Würzburg, 1890. Klinger's *Faust* was translated by George Borrow and published in London in 1825. A later issue of this translation was published by Kent in 1864. The translator took considerable liberties with the text.

will avow to me," he says to the Devil, "that man is the apple of the eye of him whom I now no longer must name." But the Demon replies: "Then I will return to hell a convicted liar, and give thee back the bond which thou wilt presently sign with thy blood." Thereupon the Devil makes a wager with Faust to prove to him the utter corruption of man; and to his end drags him into an endless course across Europe at the dawn of the Renaissance. Faust visits the Germany of Frederick III, the France of Louis XI and the Italy of the Borgias. The Devil has no difficulty in proving to his companion that man, far from needing a Devil to tempt him to evil, puts the very Devil to blush by his evil deeds. He shows Faust that, in this God-governed world, "evil arises from good," predicts that the art of printing, with which its inventor intended to benefit mankind, would turn out to be an instrument of evil, by converting the small stream, which had previously poisoned the human mind, into a tremendous flood. Faust, who considered himself to be the benefactor of mankind by his discovery of printing, later destined to become the right handmaiden of our civilization, is disappointed and disillusioned, seeing the seeds of good he tried to sow among men already turned into disasters, and proudly accepts eternal damnation. He feels no regret in quitting the earth after having found that it surpasses Hell in wickedness.

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Goethe, the greatest son of that century and the stoutest champion of its new ideas, next took hold of the Faust myth. In his hands, it has become the most poetical expression of the eternal combat between good and evil in the heart of man. The impression of the Faust legend gained from a puppet-play seen when a boy in Frankfort remained with him to the day of his death. He began working on the material in 1772 and finished the first draft in 1775. His Faust-fragment appeared in 1790, the First Part of the poem in 1808, and the Second Part posthumously in 1832.

Goethe follows the first Faust-book in ascribing to his hero the thirst for knowledge as the primary motive of his compact with Hell. The Goethean Faust, "recognizing the vanity of abstract learning and intuition, but eager to the point of frenzy to understand and possess the world, makes a pact with the Spirit of Negation, so as to throw himself into the experimental forms of learning." Goethe deviates from the legend,

however, on two important points. First he substitutes for a fixed period—the traditional quarter-century—the agreement that Faust is to be the Devil's property at any moment whatsoever, when Faust shall be brought to the point of saying to the ecstatic moment, "Bleibe doch; du bist so schön." The moment of complete and forgetful self-satisfaction is the price of his damnation.[19] Secondly, following the lead of Lessing, Goethe represents his hero in the end as saved from perdition by Gretchen and triumphantly borne aloft by angels, leaving Mephistopheles crestfallen and defeated.[20] The Devil thought to lure Faust with the woman, but he lost him through her influence. Thus Mephistopheles becomes the power which e'er designs the bad and e'er accomplishes the good.

Through Goethe's poem, the Faust legend has obtained a place second to no other in the poetic literature of the world. The diabolical parts of Goethe's poem influenced the imagination of the poets and playwrights in all European countries. Among his German imitators may be mentioned E. A. F. Klingemann, who wrote a tragedy (1815), Nikolaus Lenau, also a tragedy (1838), and Heinrich Heine, a ballet (1851). Christian Grabbe brought together Don Juan and Faust in his drama written in 1824.

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The tradition of the original Don Juan Teñorio, who lived in the fourteenth century and who is said to have been the associate of King Pedro the Cruel of Castille, contains, notwithstanding what has been said in the previous paper, the element of a diabolical pact.[21] But the Devil is absent in the earlier versions of the legend. As all know, who are acquainted with Don Juan in play and opera,

[19] Cf. Alexander R. Hohlfeld's very interesting article, "Pact and Wager in Goethe's *Faust*," *Modern Philology*, XVIII (1920-21), 1513-36. Read also Ludwig Nader: "Zum Pakt in Goethes *Faust*," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, XXXVII (1923), No. 3.

[20] The question as to whether or not Goethe was indebted to Lessing for the "happy" ending of his poem has recently been revived by Ernst Bergmann in his article "Ist die 'Rettung' des Goetheschen *Faust* auf Lessings Faust-Fragmente zurückzuführen?" *Jarbuch des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins*, 2. Folge, Bd. 2 (1929).

[21] The first definite appearance of Don Juan Teñorio in literary fiction dates back to the *Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra*, by Gabriel Tellez (1571-1648), better known under the name of Tirso do Molina, first published at Barcelona in 1630. The typical seducer appears in the folk-lore of many countries, but the Spaniard presented the character so masterfully that it is accepted as a Spanish conception. Don Juan is also the hero of Molière and Mozart, of Byron and Shaw. Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* (1905) contains an interlude in the form of a dream on the theme of Don Juan and the Devil.

it is the Dead Guest, the Commander, who is the executor of the divine sentence against the arch-seducer and mocker. In later versions, however, this character is represented as the Devil in disguise, who helps Don Juan in his numberless conquests of women and who accepts the invitation to the banquet to put an end to his career of seduction. Thus in the play, *The Rest of Don Juan*, by Henry Morford (1848), a continuation of Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-24), we find the following ending: One night, at a banquet, a tall dark stranger enters the room and beckons Don Juan away. The two depart together while the lights burn blue and the guests smell brimstone. On the morrow, Don Juan's body is found in a cemetery.

In Rostand's last play *la Dernière nuit de Don Juan* (written in 1911), the Devil, having appeared at Don Juan's banquet to drag the arch-seducer to the bottomless pit, grants his request to return to earth and live ten years longer. When this period has passed, the Devil again appears as a showman with a Punch and Judy box, and summons the shades of the one thousand and three ladies of Don Juan's traditional affairs in order to confuse and confound the host. He asks Don Juan to name the women he has seduced, but this most hardened of rakes has truly known none of them. The cynical lover seduced them when they were ready, and was accepted because he offered himself most frequently. He has had all the women but never possessed one single woman. Then the Devil at last discloses the punishment which he has reserved for him. Not for such as Don Juan exists the flaming pit, to which sinners of the type of Nero and Heliogabalus are condemned! There is another hell for such a sorry and trivial fool. Don Juan shall be a Pulchinello for all eternity. The proud Spaniard begs mercy and asks for the eternal fire. But the Devil inexorably replies that he has reserved the eternal theater for him. At the Devil's behest, Don Juan, he who believed himself to be the irresistible lover, the wickedest sinner, appears, bowing, and scraping and grimacing absurdly, as a puppet, on the Punch and Judy stage, which the Devil, in the guise of the showman, brought with him at the beginning of the play.[22]

[22] The definitive study on the Don Juan legend is the Paris thesis by Georges Gendarme de Bévotte, *la Légende de Don Juan; son évolution dans la littérature; des origines au Romantisme* (1906). For further study of this subject, particularly in the post-Romantic period, the reader is referred to the following books and articles: Francisco Augustin: *Don Juan en el teatro, en la novela y en la vida;* con un estudio preliminar sobre la vejez de Don Juan, por el Dr. Gregorio Marañon, Madrid, 1928; S. M. Waxman: "The Don Juan

Karl Immermann's *Merlin* (1832) is perhaps the greatest German attempt to write a Faust in imitation of Goethe. This play is a kind of appendage to the Second Part of the Goethean poem, replacing Mephistopheles by Merlin.[23]

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The influence of Goethe's *Faust* did not make itself sufficiently felt in France until this poem found a worthy translator in the person of Gérard de Nerval, who, in 1828, when he was hardly out of his teens, brought out a French version of the Goethean poem that surprised and enchanted the great German himself. Gérard de Nerval has the great merit of winning the French public for this great German poem, which passed unnoticed among his countrymen in previous translations. Gérard de Nerval's version enjoyed the enthusiastic admiration of the French public and became the Gospel of the French Romantics.[24]

Gérard de Nerval's translation of Goethe's *Faust* gave the impetus to a very great number of adaptations of this poem on the French stage. Among the numerous dramatic adaptations, we will point out the following plays: *l'Amour et la mort*, a play first presented at the Variétés theater on September 6, 1828. This drama contains a witch-scene, in which the Devil is evoked by a sorceress. In another play, *Une nuit de Paris*, given in March, 1829, at the Vaudeville theater, a naive young man, son of a retired court-recorder, on the point of getting married and ready to pay his bachelor's debts, permits himself to be dragged into all sorts of debaucheries by a Mephistopheles in human form. The play, *le Cousin de Faust*, presented the same month at the Gaité theater, shows by its very title, the influence of the Goethean poem. It need scarcely be said that this statement also holds good with regard to

Legend in Literature," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXI, April-September, 1908. An interesting article on this subject, written from the psychoanalytic point of view, appeared in the magazine, *Psyche and Eros*, vol. II (1929), No. 2. On Russian versions of the Don Juan tradition, see C. A. Manning's article in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XXXVIII (1923), No. 3, especially pp. 485-91.

[23] Concerning Immermann's debt to Goethe, consult Otto Volkart's article, "Immermanns *Merlin* and Goethes *Faust*," *Westfälisches Magazin*, N. F., 2. Jg. (1910). On this play, see also Ottakar Fischer: *Zu Immermanns "Merlin"* (1909); Herman Hamann: "Das Rätsel in Immermanns *Merlin*," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*, Bd. I (1925); Karl Schultze-Jahde: "Zu Immermanns *Merlin*," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* (1925).

[24] On Goethe's influence in France, cf. F. Baldensperger: *Goethe en France; étude de littérature comparée* (Paris, 1904; second edition, 1920); and Pierre Lasserre: *Faust en France* (1929).

Jean Lesguillon's drama, *Méphistophélès, ou le Diable et la jeune Fille*, played at the Panthéon theater in 1832, in which the Devil is caught in his own traps.

Among the other imitations of Goethe's *Faust*, we may mention Emmanuel Arago's Faust-play, produced about 1832, which contains a cohort of demons and witches presided over by Mephistopheles, reminiscent of the Walpurgis-Night in the German poem, and Eugène Robin's dramatic poem, *Livia* (1835), in which the title-character loves Faust for a short time previous to the expiration of his compact. Mephisto puts Livia's love to test by offering her Faust's love in return for the salvation of her soul. Livia loves Faust sufficiently to sign the pact of perdition in her turn. But when Mephistopheles appears to seize her, he finds her dead, with the angel Emmanuel watching by her side.

A rather interesting French adaptation of Goethe's *Faust* is the play by Eugène Scribe and de Saint-Georges, *la Nuit de Walpurgis*, with its subtitle "comédie politique du temps présent," which was presented at the Gymnase theater in 1850. In this comedy, Mephistopheles takes by the hand the Faust of the rue Saint-Denis, the politician Morin, and leads him into the midst of the Witches' Sabbath of 1848.[25]

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What attracted Gérard de Nerval so powerfully to *Faust* was its devil-myth. The character that appealed to him in this drama was not the wizard of Wittenberg, but his *spiritus familiaris*. In Gérard de Nerval's opinion, which he expresses in the preface to the first edition of his translation of *Faust*, the real hero of this poem was not Faust but Mephistopheles. Gérard de Nerval was discerning enough to discover the fact that Goethe did not conceive of the Devil in the form of a hideous phantom, as he is usually represented to children; but that, on the contrary, he has portrayed him as the Evil Being par excellence, before whom all other poetic personifications of Evil were only novices, hardly worthy to be the minions of Mephistopheles.

The scene in *Faust* that drew its best French translator so irresistibly to Germany was the narration of the prank that the Devil played on the students in Auerbach's Cellar. Gérard de

[25] On this play, see the *Journal des Débats* of June 17, 1850. Mephistopheles plays a rôle also in Edouard Grenier's *Jacqueline Bonhomme*, with its subtitle "tragédie moderne" (1879).

Nerval longed to visit the spot that had witnessed this famous feat, and, as soon as his means permitted him, hurried to Leipzig so that he might lean his elbow on the table from which Mephistopheles had the glowing wine gush forth amidst flaming jets to the utter amazement of the revellers. *"Plus heureux que nous,"* wrote Théophile Gautier in 1867 in his recollections of his poor friend, who had hanged himself twelve years previously, *"il s'est assis accoudé sur la table d'où Méphistophélès faisait jailir avec une forêt des fusées de vin incendiaires."* [26]

When Gérard later sought inspiration in Goethe's *Faust* for his own works, he imitated only the diabolical parts of the play, such as the conjuration of the Devil, the devil-compact, and the evocation by the Devil of the beauties of antiquity.

The first play which Gérard de Nerval planned already showed the influence of Goethe's *Faust*. The pseudo-medieval mystery-play, *le Prince des sots* (1830), with its blazing mouth of Hell surmounted by a Paradise of starry azure, reveals reminiscences of the Prologue in the Goethean poem. This French play has for its subject the arrival of a company of jugglers at a feudal castle under the pretext of giving a performance, but in reality for the purpose of rescuing a fair lady held in durance vile by a tyrannical husband or father.

The minor plot, which is a play within a play, tells of an angel, who descends from the azure sphere and throws dice with the Devil, with human souls as the stakes. The angel cheats, through excess of zeal, with the object of taking back as many of his friends as possible into Paradise. The Devil in the end loses his temper, calls the angel "great gawky fellow, sly fool," and threatens, if he catches him again at his tricks, to pull every feather out of his wings, so that he would be unable to fly back to his Master. The quarrel grows bitter, and leads to a row, under cover of which the lover, protected by the Prince of Fools, succeeds in carrying off his lady fair.[27]

[26] Théophile Gautier: *Portraits et souvenirs littéraires*. Paris, 1875.

[27] The synopsis of this play has been given after Gautier's account of it in his *Histoire du Romantisme* (1874). M. Aristide Marie in his study, *Gérard de Nerval, le poète et l'homme* (Paris, 1914), p. 368, n. 22, maintains that Gautier's memory failed him in his account of the plot of this play. It is not with the Devil but with a juggler placed at the entrance to Hell-mouth that the angel plays the game of dice. Gérard de Nerval, who could not have the play performed, changed it later into a novel, which was published after the original manuscript by L. Ulbach in *la Nouvelle Revue* for 1887.

Gérard de Nerval's second play, *Nicolas Flamel*, written the same year, bears a still stronger impression of Goethe's *Faust*. The scene in which Satan appears to Flamel on the tower of the Church of Saint-Jacques is an evident imitation of the apparition of Mephistopheles in Faust's study.[28]

Nicolas Flamel, a man of genius, has been ruined by his alchemistic researches. In his "despair of never attaining," he takes the decision to sell his soul to Satan. Ambition drives him to enter into a pact with the powers of hell. Having been unsuccessful in soaring to the heights, he now contemplates plunging himself to the depths. His decision, however, is actuated not by his material misery so much as by his thirst for learning. He is anxious to be freed from the chains which bind the human mind. He expects from the Devil not material rewards so much as the ability to know all and to comprehend all. He summons Satan and offers to sign away his soul. But the Devil is not content with the scholar's soul. He demands the inclusion of Flamel's wife in the pact for fear that, through her piety, she may in the end obtain her husband's pardon from Heaven and thus snatch his soul from Hell. Flamel, as a good husband, balks at this condition. He is willing to forfeit his own soul as payment for services received, but he will not jeopardize his spouse's soul in the bargain. Satan, however, is stubborn on this point. He will have both or none at all. In the end, as Flamel is hard pressed by his creditors, he expresses his willingness to hand over his beloved wife as well as himself to the Devil.

The long drawn-out negotiations furnish several occasions for the Devil to expound his philosophy. Satan shows himself in this play as a thorough-going dualist. He expresses the idea of two co-equal and co-eternal powers continually engaged in a war for the

[28] The substitution of the tower of the Church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie for the scholar's laboratory of alchemy is due to the fact that the name of the protagonist of this play is historically linked with this church. Nicolas Flamel, a member of the University of Paris and a librarian, who died in 1417, is one of the most famous persons buried in the Church of St. Jacques. He left a great sum of money to this church, and his effigy, together with that of his wife, used to be seen kneeling at the Virgin's feet in the tympanum of the porch. Nicolas Flamel was venerated by the alchemists as their patron for having, as it was believed, discovered the philosopher's stone. His house in the Rue des Ecrivains was searched several times in order to find some indication of his secret. In the selection of the church tower as the place of temptation we may perhaps also see a reminiscence of the temptation of Christ on a high mountain.

mastery of the world. The two antagonists—Deus and Diabolus—he maintains, are equal in glory and grandeur, but man, standing between them, is inferior to either of them. The Mighty Abyss, he tells Flamel, has as much beauty as the High Mountain. The ugly, he claims, is that which has neither height nor depth. The bad lies not at the ends, but in the middle. Men should prefer Hell or Heaven rather than earth for a sojourn.

Nicolas Flamel finally becomes conscious of Satan's sophistry. In the end, the specious arguments advanced by the Devil open his victim's eyes. Flamel realizes that true happiness lies not on the heights nor in the depths, but mid-way, amidst the sacred and familiar things of the earth. He finally decides to act in the spirit of Aristotle's "Golden Mean" and according to the Latin proverb: *"Medio tutissimus ibis,"* refuses to sign the pact, abandons his ambitions, and returns to his desk to earn his living with his pen.[29]

[29] This "drame chronique" was left unfinished by its author. Two small fragments of this play appeared in the *Mercure de France au XIXe siècle* for 1831. The conclusion is given in the résumé after a recent English translation, which appeared in the *Dublin Magazine*, I (1923-24), 503-512. Its author, Seumas O'Sullivan, has added a final scene.

(To Be Continued)

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN MAN

BY LEWIS SPENCE

THE question of human origins presents a perennial interest, but at no time, perhaps, has it been the subject of so much popular curiosity and debate as at the present. Africa, with its recently found anthropoid skull and early simian crania, may hold the anthropological stage for the moment. But, sooner or later, America, the enthnological history of which has aroused the keenest controversy since the Discovery, must once more reappear as one of the great central issues in the age-long discussion of man's provenance and distribution. Few topics, indeed, connected with the science of man possess a romance so permanent and enthralling, for if American Ethnology has no immediate connection with the origin and evolution of our species, it cannot but illuminate our still darkling notions of human development and upward progress when isolated and cut off from the region of its inception.

The majority of American official anthropologists—though markedly disinclined to pronounce conclusively on a question so bewildering—now seem disposed to accept the theory of an Asiatic affinity for the Red Man. But it is not disputed that in the course of ages immigrants from other sources may have landed on American soil. According to the more conservative view, America furnishes no tangible evidence of an antiquity so great as to support the theory of an independent origin for the Red race, nor has it so far afforded satisfactory evidence of human arrivals on its shores in remote geologic times. All American aboriginal culture, indeed, is now classed by trustworthy authorities as Neolithic, and the protagonists of its Old Stone Age origins are in a rather discredited minority.

Assuming a place of origin for man in some part of the Old

World, America would naturally be the last of the great areas to be reached. If man arrived in the American continent by way of Bering Strait, it must have been at a comparatively recent period, geologically speaking, for the ice-sheet persisted in these regions until an epoch which is variously estimated at from seven to twenty thousand years ago, and, indeed, still persists there. Man's arrival in North-Western America may perhaps be referred to one of the recurring intervals of climatic mildness which intervened during the long and rigorous conditions imposed by the Ice Age. Tribes acclimatised in Siberia would readily adapt themselves to the conditions of life in the Yukon Valley, but ice, mountain ranges, and other intervening obstacles must have made it difficult for them to find their way to the valley of the Columbia or the banks of the St. Lawrence for many centuries. But migration southward would present no such difficulties, and their spread over the Mississippi Valley to the south would be quickly accomplished, nor would the passage from North to South America present any insuperable obstacles.

In all probability the first settlement of America did not begin until the peoples of Northern Asia had acquired a degree of cultural development somewhat analagous to the more primitive hunting, fishing, and fire-using tribes of the Far North in recent times. Arriving in small groups, the movement would be hesitating and slow. The pioneers would camp along the ocean shores and river courses, and only after a considerable lapse of time would they negotiate the mountain ranges and ice-clad areas. The culture of those who went southward would alter insensibly according to needs and environment, and in time far-reaching changes would be initiated.

After carefully weighing the evidence collected by him in Alaska, Mr. W. H. Dall reached the conclusion that the earliest shell-midden deposits on the Aleutian Islands, by which route man may have entered America, are probably about three thousand years old. Indeed, the testimony of racial and cultural phenomena, when studied apart from geological evidence, does not seem to indicate clearly an antiquity for the presence of man in America beyond a few thousand years. On the other hand, the geological evidence of his presence there would seem to point to occupation towards the close of the last glacial period in Middle North America. This geological evidence

is extensive, but by no means satisfactory, and in the present state of knowledge it is impossible to accept it as final. Everything points, then, to the conclusion that in all probability America was first peopled by way of Bering Strait at an epoch not less than seven thousand and not more than twenty thousand years ago.

Since geologic observations were first set on foot, a vast body of testimony has been collected regarding the early presence of man in the Western continent, and here it is only possible to summarize this rather scantily. South America claims to furnish the most primitive data, and Señor Ameghino and other authorities have sought to push man's antiquity on that sub-continent back to the early Tertiary period of the Eocene, a time when as yet even the anthropoids were probably not developed. An exhaustive review of the claims of the South American School, by Dr. Ales Hrdlička of the United States National Museum and Dr. Bailey Willis of the United States Geological Survey, left little doubt as to the true character of is assumptions, which were found to be based on 'very imperfect and incorrectly interpreted data, and in many cases of false premises.' The geologic determinations, no less than the faulty consideration of the circumstances relating to the human remains discovered in South America, particularly as to the possibility of their accidental introduction into older strata, and the lack of anatomical knowledge displayed by the finders, made it clear that even the best authenticated of their discoveries must be classed as 'doubtful.' As Mr. W. H. Holmes of the United States Bureau of Ethnology remarks, 'There appears to be no very cogent reason for assigning any of the cultural traces to sources other than tribes occupying the region in comparatively recent times.'

In North America, from 1830 onwards, a most imposing body of evidence was gathered to substantiate the claim for the presence of Tertiary Man, especially in California, where mining operations resulted in numerous discoveries. But practically the same disabilities attach to it as to the South American data. Most of the discoveries in question were made by inexpert observers, and it has been demonstrated that the antiquity claimed for them 'required a human race older by at least one-half than the *Pithecanthropus erectus* of Java.' Moreover, they were associated with artifacts which could certainly not be assigned to the Tertiary Period, and the knowledge that the western half of the North American coast has been completely re-

modelled, geologically speaking, twice or three times since that period, at once disabuses such claims of all authenticity. Still, as Holmes admits, "certain portions of the deep gravels appear to have yielded traces of human occupancy of the region during the formation of these deposits." This partial admission does not, however, extend to such imagined relics of the Tertiary Period as the famous Calaveras skull, the Lansing skull, or the Nampa image, a terra-cotta figurine in human form taken from early Quaternary deposits in Idaho. The crania in question exhibit such striking analogies with those of the historic Indians as to render their ethnological association with these a matter of no dubiety.

The greater number of observations relating to the geological antiquity of man in America are associated with the closing stages of the Glacial Period in the northern United States. This period in America did not come to an end until the retreat of the main body of the ice-sheet beyond the Arctic shores. That retreat was necessarily gradual, so that the terms 'Glacial' and 'Post-glacial' apply to different epochs in different American localities. Thus the former nomenclature may be applied to a period in the Ohio or Delaware Valleys estimated at some twenty thousand years ago, whilst in the region of the Great Lakes it refers to an antiquity only half as extensive. The confused and unconsolidated nature of Post-glacial deposits in North America adds enormously to the difficulties attending an estimate of their age. Human and animal disturbance and the forces of nature have been continuously active in altering the superficial strata, nor can the geological chronology of the Old World be accepted as a trustworthy guide in any estimate of American geology. In the case of the Tertiary gravels in the Delaware Valley it was proved that the Lenni Lenape Indians had worked certain sites as lately as 1700 A. D. This notwithstanding, there can be no question that men have dwelt in the region probably from the closing period of the American Ice Age, but the collection of evidence of their presence there is sadly hampered by the recent existence of the Stone Age in America.

"Thus far," remarks Holmes, "the testimony brought forward is scattered, disconnected and contradictory, and tells no consistent story." He adds that in his view man did not reach American soil "until after the first retreat of the glacial ice from middle North America." So far, no definite evidence has been gathered which

seriously militates against the conclusion, and until archaeological data of a trustworthy nature are forthcoming, it must serve as a basis for all estimates of the first presence of man in America. These views have naturally been combated by the less conservative school of Americanists, especially by Mr. Franz Boas, who formulated the dissenting opinion that man reached the American North-West during one of the inter-glacial periods of the Ice Age rather than at the close of that epoch. The ten or twenty thousand years which Holmes permits appeared to him sufficient for the growth of American aboriginal culture, but he pointed out that the ice retreated very gradually from the connecting bridge across the Bering Sea. In fact, it still lingers there, so that a much more recent date must be found for the opening of communication by that route. This leaves a very narrow margin for the development of aboriginal culture, and Boas and his supporters assume that the peopling of the New World was contemporaneous with that of Western Europe, and that the subsequent return of the ice practically isolated the two hemispheres, leaving each to develop as it might. They point to a certain parallelism between Western Europe and Eastern North America, and to the fact that the Crô-Magnon type of man, an Old Stone Age man, who entered Europe about twenty thousand years ago, had a strong skeletal and facial resemblance to the American Red Man.

"More than once," says Mr. Clark Wissler, the Curator of Anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, "attention has been called to certain vague similarities between certain Palaeolithic races and the Eskimo, and in the New World certain old skulls from the remoter parts of South America are not far removed from this same Eskimo type. Incidentally, we may note that the Chancelade skeleton in Western Europe, belonging to Magdalenian time, is quite similar to the modern Eskimo. The earlier races appearing in Europe tend to be long-headed, and we have noted a less marked but still noticeable tendency for the long-heads in the New World to cluster in the extreme margins. That this is rather fundamental appears when we regard mammals as a whole."

If we regard the parallel series of European and North American life-forms where these are sufficiently complete, they appear to have been periodically recruited by more progressive stages, apparently from a common centre of dispersal. The relations are like those of

one side and the other of a branching tree whose trunk-region is unknown to us.

Still other writers and searchers believe that future archaeological research in Asia will provide grounds for the assumption that Crô-Magnon Man and contemporaneous New World peoples were collateral branches springing from a Central Asian type. Mr. Wissler sums up by inferring that: "suggestive parallels between earlier types of Western Europe and America arise in a much earlier period of man's history. That the New World native is a direct descendant of the Asiatic Mongolian is not to be inferred, for the differentiation is evidently remote; what is implied, is that somewhere in the distant past the Asiatic wing of the generalised type diverged into strains, one of which we know as Mongolian and another as American."

On the other hand, some of the younger American anthropologists have sought to treat the whole matter independently and *de novo*. Mr. N. B. Nelson, working in the Mammoth Cave district of Kentucky, found two cultures, the earlier of which is without pottery, and with very little polished stone. Mr. Leslie Spier, making an independent study of conditions at Trenton, New Jersey, found conclusive evidence of the existence of an earlier culture, also without pottery or polished stone. Both of these sites are east of the Mississippi River, and it may therefore be concluded that the existence of two cultural periods in the Eastern United States is extremely probable.

According to Holmes, archaeological evidence for early European penetration is not lacking. In New England and farther North is found a highly specialised form of the stone adze known as the gouge, which is abundant in the region mentioned, but disappears as we approach the Carolinas and the Ohio Valley. It is to be found in Northern Europe where the Atlantic is narrowest and most nearly bridged by the intervening islands. Within the same area in North-East America, and thinning out, as does the gouge, is to be found an object of rare and highly specialised form, an axe-like implement known as the hammer-stone, with a perforation for hafting, and wing-like blades. In Northern Europe is found a drilled axe of similar type. It is, says Mr. Sven Nilsson, exactly like the axe which the Amazons of classical mythology are represented as carrying in many friezes and statues, and resembles the

Amazonia securis of Horace, which is also mentioned by Xenophon in the 'Anabasis.' Its American homologue, says Holmes, had no other than sacred and ceremonial functions.

"It may not be amiss to suggest," he remarks, "that possibly in prehistoric times examples of that type of implement were carried by some voyager across the intervening seas. . . . Who will venture to say that these greatly varied, beautifully finished, and widely distributed objects may not have come into existence among the tribes during the 620 years separating the discovery of Vineland and the arrival of the English Pilgrims?"

Holmes also ventures to indicate Mediterranean cultural affinities in America.

"Along the middle Atlantic shores of America," he says, "certain forms of artifact are found which resemble more closely the corresponding fabrications of the Mediterranean region than do those of other parts of America. The round-sectioned, petaloid polished celt is found in highest perfection in Western Europe, and in the West Indies and neighbouring American areas. It is absent or rare on the opposite shores of the Pacific. In the Isthmian region we find works in gold and silver and their alloys which display technical skill of exceptional, even remarkable, kind, and it is noteworthy that the method of manufacture employed, as well as some of the forms produced, suggest strongly the wonderful metal-craft of the Nigerian tribes of Old Benin; and, as possibly bearing on this occurrence, we observe that the trade winds and currents of the Atlantic are ever ready to carry voyagers from the African shores in the direction of the Caribbean Sea."

Again, the close resemblance between the architectural and sculptural remains of Middle America and South-Eastern Asia invites comparison. In both regions the salient structures are pyramids ascended by four steep stairways of stone, bordered by serpent balustrades, and surmounted by temples. The walls of temples are embellished with a profusion of ornaments, and surmounted by roof-combs of a very similar design, and the caryatid is common to both environments. It does not seem impossible that the energetic builders of Cambodia and Java of two thousand years ago should have had sea-going craft capable of the voyage to America. That they had in the sixth century of our era we know. But by that time Central American civilization was already on the wane.

After more than four centuries we are still much in the dark concerning the wonderful civilization of the Maya Indian tribes of Guatemala, Chiapas, and Yucatan. The United States Bureau of Ethnology has heroically striven to achieve results in Central American archaeology comparable with those arrived at by workers in the lore of the ancient East. But although the effort has been admirably organised, it has been, to some extent, devoid of imagination, and the gaps in our knowledge of the Maya and Mexican past are still so great as to arouse the feeling that as yet we are only at the beginning of a quest of extraordinary difficulty and complexity. For example, although the symbols employed in Maya arithmetical computation and dating have been unriddled, the hieroglyphs accompanying them, which probably relate to the details of religious festivals, still baffle the ingenuity of investigators. Again, the several epochs in the history of the Maya race can only be estimated broadly by a comparative study of the development of their art-forms. But one arresting fact emerges from the welter of evidence and theory. The earliest known forms of Maya art and carven inscription differ so slightly from the latest examples as to induce the belief that this civilization did not develop upon American soil, but had its inception elsewhere.

Authorities are slightly at variance regarding the best method of collating Maya chronology, as expressed in the dates sculptured on the walls of the temples of Guatemala, with our own system of reckoning time. But there is a general agreement that the earliest of these nearly coincide with the beginning of the Christian era. If this be granted, and we lean toward the notion of an Asiatic origin for an art and architecture which first appear on American soil as almost fully developed, we must look for signs of their introduction at some time shortly before the commencement of our present chronological era—in a word, at a period when Buddhist missionary enterprise was in its hey-day.

As is well known, evidence of a kind is not wanting that Buddhist monks from Kabul reached America at some time in the fifth century of our era. This is contained in certain Chinese annals, the antiquity and reliability of which is doubtful. After a close examination of this evidence, the present writer is of the opinion that the theory that these missionaries reached America is 'not proven.' The

most satisfactory proof of the early Asiatic penetration of America must surely be sought for on American soil.

It is, perhaps, in the worship of the god known in Mexico as Quetzalcoatl, and in Central America as Gucumatz and Kukulkan (all of which mean 'Feathered Snake'), that perhaps the strongest proof of psychological contact with Asia is to be found. At the period of the Conquest he had developed into a god connected with the trade wind, and therefore with the fertilization of the crops, but in an earlier day he possessed a very different significance. There are several versions of his myth, some of which state that he came from the East, while others give the impression that he entered the country by the way of the west coast. However that may be, he is, in his earlier forms, decidedly Buddhistic in aspect and insignia, as well as in the traditions which relate to him. His was a religion of pious contemplation and penance. His priests rose several times in the watches of the night to indulge in prayer and penance, they drew blood from their ears, noses, and thighs by means of sharp thorns; they bathed in the early watches of the dawn. They had their religious adepts and recluses, precisely as among the Buddhist fraternities, and the personal piety of Quetzalcoatl himself and his strenuous passive resistance to the horrid rites of human sacrifice, of which the lower Aztec religion was so prolific, lend colour to the theory of his Buddhist origin.

Nor is this weakened by the sculptured and other representations of Quetzalcoatl which have come down to us. In these he is shown, not as squatting with knees drawn up to chin, as in the native manner, but as sitting cross-legged, often in a shrine, in the most approved manner of the Buddhist saint, wearing necklaces of beads and other hierophantic insignia, and a head-dress which recalls those of numerous Buddhist personages. But there are other and still more disconcerting evidences of contact with Asia. At Copan is a stela of considerable proportions, which exhibits two strange supporters resembling elephants. These animals have coiled and elongated trunks, but are without tusks. The authorities of the United States Bureau of Ethnology are of the opinion that these are exaggerated representations of the macaw bird. But Prof. Elliot Smith of London University, who has experience in mythology and symbolism as well as in comparative anatomy and zoology, assures us that these sculptures represent "undoubted elephants,"

a statement which he clinches by saying that the auditory meatus observable is not that of the macaw, but of the elephant. Commenting on this theory, Mr. Clark Wissler observes: "In this case we may doubt the reality of the similarity between these figures and southern Asiatic drawings of elephants, because those who have studied the Maya sculptures themselves, instead of the pencil sketches made by earlier observers, find proof that another creature was in the artist's mind. In cases of this kind when we are dealing with the conventionalised drawings of the New World and the Old, it can scarcely be expected that the mere objective similarity between a few of these drawings is to be taken as proof of their identity in origin. Other check data must be appealed to before even a useful working hypothesis can be formulated." The whole question of Asiatic influence in America can scarcely be taken seriously until reinforced by a much larger body of evidence than is at present forthcoming.

That American civilization owed its inception to or received impetus from Polynesian immigration is a theory which recommends itself to a growing number of adherents. Perhaps its most direct advocate is Prof. J. Macmillan Brown, Principal of Christchurch University, New Zealand, who sees in the architectural and other manifestations of the Incan culture of Peru a close resemblance to the megalithic culture of Easter Island, and this, again, he connects with Polynesia, seeing in the hermit isle of the Pacific a stepping-stone by way of which Polynesian arts and beliefs were introduced to American soil. He indicates that the Cyclopean work of some of the burial platforms in Easter Island is precisely the same in character as that to be found at Cuzco in Peru. On the brick-building civilization of the ancient Andeans of Peru, Prof. Brown believes, a stone-building culture borrowed from the Pacific was superimposed by the Incas, who improved and refined upon it. He shows that certain plants which had been acclimatised in Polynesia, the banana and the plantain, the leaves of which are found in old Peruvian graves flourished in South America, and from the presence of the sweet potato he assumed Polynesian influence on the Pacific coast of South America, where the tuber flourished exceedingly.

In certain South American customs and forms of artistic endeavour, too, Professor Brown discerns evidences of Polynesian

influence. The *tiputa* or *poncho,* the mantle with a single hole for the head, which is so generally worn from Mexico to the Argentine, he believes to be of western insular origin. The salivary ferments common to both areas, *chicha* and *kava,* he compares as having a unity of origin in Polynesian practice, and the chewing of the Andean coca with lime he likens to the practice of masticating the areca nut, which, in the Pacific, is also chewed with lime. Moreover, the Peruvian quipus, or system of knotted cords, the purpose of which was to serve as a mnemonic register for facts and numbers, and even to supply the first words of songs and chants, he compares with the mnemonic sticks in use in Tahiti and among the Maori, who also possessed knotted cords somewhat resembling those in use in Peru. The *umu* or earth-oven of the Pacific, associated with the cult of cannibalism, also penetrated South America by way of the west coast, and the stone axe or adze of the western insular area was also adopted in the Pacific regions of South America.

Lastly, he infers the arrival of a considerable body of Polynesians on South American soil. Assisted by the Humboldt current, these adventurers landed on the coast near the site of Truxillo, and founded the now ruined city of Grand Chimu, where still stand three double-walled enclosures, each covering more than a hundred acres. Within that nearest to the coast are the foundations of many large edifices in front of hundreds of small cubicles, entered only from the roof. These, he believes, were barracks for the soldiery of the conquering intruders, who reserved them as a fortified retreat in the last resort. From the gateway there stretches into the sea, about a mile off, a weir, containing in the middle a dock large enough to accommodate an ocean-going craft, by the aid of which the garrison could, if necessary, make its escape. But the evidence by which he chiefly identifies the invaders as of Polynesian race is to be found in the cemetery outside the northern wall, in which not a single shard of pottery has been found—for of all the Pacific peoples, the Polynesians alone made no pottery, while the native Peruvians lavishly furnished the graves of their dead with ceramic mementoes. A tradition from Lambayeque, an ancient city farther to the north, has it that across the sea came a band of naked warriors who worshipped a god of green stone, and who ruled for a time in the neighbourhood and later disappeared.

From what part of Polynesia did these conquering immigrants

come? Professor Brown believes that the settlers in Grand Chimu were no mere haphazard adventurers, but came to Peru as the result of a definite quest for a new home. Searching for other land more or less known, they got into the track of the trade winds, and were unavoidably blown on to the Pacific coast of South America. He thinks it not improbable that these voyagers came from the Marquesas, where alone in the Pacific area is to be found the combination of megalithic work and statuary reproduced in Incan Peru.

Setting aside the indirect character of much of Professor Brown's evidence, it is obvious that such incursions as he describes could have had but a slight influence on American race and culture. The evidences of Polynesian influence in America are slender, and probably arose out of sporadic visitations, which, by reason of the very hostility of the race which made them—and the Polynesians were nowhere friendly disposed—could leave but little traces upon native art and custom. At the same time it is only fair to admit that salient striking customs and artifacts, once introduced, are usually persistent in character, and to find a highly involved and elaborate form of architectural science, such as the megalithic, in Peru, certainly justifies a respectful consideration of the assumption that it emanated from one or another of the Pacific regions where it is to be found.

The argument that America was not only peopled from Polynesia but also drew the seeds of her culture from that region is ably summarized by Mr. Clark Wissler, who says:—

"Repeated efforts have been made to show that all the higher culture complexes of the New World were brought over from the Old, particularly from China or the Pacific Islands. Most of these writings are merely speculative or may be ignored, but some of the facts we have cited for correspondences to Pacific Island culture have not been satisfactorily explained. Dixon has carefully reviewed this subject, asserting in general that among such traits as blowguns, plank canoes, lime-chewing, head-hunting cults, the man's house, and certain masked dances common to the New World and the Pacific Islands, there appears a tendency to mass upon the Pacific side of the New World. This gives these traits a semblance of continuous distribution with the Island culture. Yet it should be noted that these traits, as enumerated above, have in reality a sporadic distribution in the New World, and that there are excep-

tions. On the other hand, there is no great *a priori* improbability that some of these traits did reach the New World from the Pacific Islands."

The several routes possible to immigrants are the Bering approach, that by way of the Atlantic currents, setting from the African coast to the shores of South America, the Middle and South Pacific currents traversing the ocean which separates Polynesia from South America, the Japan currents setting to the North-East, and the chain of islands connecting Europe with Labrador. The majority of these are certainly not very practicable for primitive voyagers, but there are numerous instances on record of Polynesian canoes drifting for six or eight hundred miles from their point of departure. Such voyagers as there carried, however, can scarcely have affected blood and culture to any great extent in regions already occupied, though there seems to be good evidence that they did so slightly.

Although artifacts of European character have been found in North America, and these perhaps antedate the well-ascertained settlements of the Norsemen there, no data sufficiently embracive or accurate have yet been gathered to permit us to say that early European man actually found his way to America by drift or land-bridge. That numerous traditions of a Western continent existed in the British Isles from an early period is, however, now generally admitted. In some cases these were probably mere echoes of the Norse discoveries, like the Venetian tale of the discoveries of the brothers Zeno, but those of them associated with Irish and Welsh legend are now receiving a greater measure of credence than formerly. Of late years much has been done to show that many regions which our grandfathers firmly believed to be traditional were actually known to European geographers long before the date generally accepted as that of their discovery. During the 19th century the venerable legend of St. Brandan was believed to enshrine quite as much of the essence of legend as any other of the Irish sagas of seafaring. The Norse tales of discovery in America and elsewhere were credible enough, but this Celtic epic of an earthly paradise was, of course, much too rich in matter of faery to carry conviction. Perhaps its most acceptable version is that to be found in the fifteenth century Book of Lismore, compiled from much older materials, from which we learn that St. Brandan, founder of the

monastery of Clonfert, who flourished in the seventh century, prayed strenuously that a secret and hidden land might be shown to him where he could dwell in hermitage secure from men. We are told that the saint "travelled up and down the coast of Kerry, inquiring as he went for traditions of the Western continent." At first he set sail in search of it in a ship made from the hides of beasts, but later in a large wooden vessel built in Connaught, which required a crew of sixty monks to navigate her. Success crowned his quest, and he came at last to an island 'under the lee of Mount Atlas,' a balmy and delectable region, where he dwelt in peace and security for many years.

The first appearance of St. Brandan's Isle in cartography is in the Hereford map of 1275, where it occupies the latitude of the Canary group. Indeed in the Canary Isles a tradition still survives that St. Brandan and his companions spent several years in the archipelago. Even as late as the eighteenth century an expedition sailed from the Canaries in search of an island believed to be outside of those already known in the group, and to be that in which the saint had finally settled. "It appears likely," says Mr. W. H. Babcock, "that St. Brandan in the sixth century wandered widely over the seas in quest of some warm island concerning which wonderful accounts had been brought to him, and found several such isles."

But Mr. Babcock, no venturesome authority, it may be said, is of the opinion that early Irish voyagers may actually have settled in Newfoundland. He thinks that the legendary island of Brazil, once thought of as lying in the Atlantic, may have been the present Newfoundland, which seems to have been visited by Irish-speaking people. The name Brazil is probably composed of two Celtic syllables, 'breas' and 'ail,' each highly commendatory in implication, and that the geographical term Brazil or O'Brasil, is of Irish origin cannot be doubted. In all probability the Irish monks whom early Norse settlers found in Iceland formed part of a great Celtic religious and missionary 'push,' or forward movement, which was pressing northward and eastward in the latter part of the eighth century, and the Irish who reached Newfoundland may have formed its western wing. Irish vessels of that period were of a tonnage sufficiently large to negotiate such a voyage with success. Indeed, they were much better equipped for long-distance sailing than the

vessels of Columbus. It is well known that the Norse discoverers of America conferred the name of Mikla Irlant, or Great Ireland, on a region not far distant from one of the coasts where they settled. The territory which has Cape Race for its apex, and which includes Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island, occupies the precise latitude of the Island of Brazil in many of the ancient maps. The name Brazil was given to the South American country now so called in almost a haphazard manner, and in the vague belief that the legendary locality of that name had been rediscovered after the lapse of centuries.

But Wales has also a claim to traditional honours in the discovery and even in the settlement of America, which, should she care to take it seriously, is at least as strong as that of Ireland. On the death of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, in 1170 A. D., tradition says that his sons became embroiled in civil strife, and one of them, Madoc, a man experienced in seamanship, disgusted with the unstable condition of the country, resolved to lead a colony to those Western lands of which he had heard his seafaring acquaintances speak. Accordingly he collected several hundreds of his followers, steered westwards, and eventually established a colony 'in a fertile land.' Leaving here a hundred and twenty persons, he returned to Wales, and fitted out a larger expedition of ten ships, with which he once more put to sea, this time passing completely out of human ken.

The evidence in support of this story is that it is mentioned in early Welsh annals, and that numerous travellers have discovered traces of the Welsh tongue among the lighter coloured tribes of American Indians. Meredith, a Welsh bard, seems to have celebrated the voyage in some verses composed, according to Hakluyt, in 1477, or fifteen years before the Columbian discovery, but the original printed source of the legend is Humphrey Lloyd's 'History of Cambria, now called Wales,' which was published at London in 1584. But the '*Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*' of Montanus, published at Amsterdam in 1671, made the story more universally familiar. It necessarily entered into the discussions of the learned men who in the seventeenth century were busying themselves with the question of the origin of the American races, and among these De Laet and Hornius gave credit to its reality.

The linguistic evidences of Madoc's settlements in the New

World, however, were not brought into prominence until after one, Morgan Jones, a Welsh missionary, had fallen among the Tuscarora Indians in 1660, and found, as he asserted, that they could understand his Welsh. He is most explicit regarding the ability of his Indian captors to speak the purest Welsh, and states that they perfectly understood those passages of Scripture which he read to them from his Welsh Bible. It is impossible to enumerate the extraordinary stream of books and papers dealing with this fascinating question which saw the light towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The renewed interest in the subject seems to have prompted Southey to the composition of his poem 'Madoc.' Meanwhile persistent reports were published of the discovery of tribes of Indians who spoke Welsh. Some years later the publication of Catlin's *American Indians* probably gave more conviction than had previously been felt as regards the actuality of the tradition because of his statements of positive linguistic correspondences in the language of the so-called white Mandans of the Missouri, the similarity of their boats to the old Welsh coracles, and other parallels of customs. The discovery, too, that there was actually a tribe of Indians in Oregon calling themselves Modocs, seemed to many to clinch the matter. "It seems hardly necessary to state," writes Mr. James Mooney of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, "that there is not a provable trace of Welsh, Gaelic, or any other European language in any native American language, excepting for a few words of recent introduction." But it is noticeable that nowhere in the publications of the Bureau are definite facts adduced for the final discomfiture of this extraordinarily vital and persistent tradition.

The anthropological evidence and the very considerable mass of tradition which has accumulated around the question of the origin of the American race seem to unite in affording proof that the New World, so far from having been populated by any one race or at any given period, received its human stock from Asia, Polynesia, and even from Europe, at intervals widely removed. Probably, also, there were many immigrations from these several sources in the course of ages. It seems, however, reasonable to infer that the most numerous contribution came from Northern Asia at a period when the eastern portions of that continent had developed only a slender degree of culture. Polynesian influence must naturally have

been of a more slight and intermittent character, and if European (other than early Norse) immigrants entered America, it must have been during some phase when communication by land or short sea passage was possible. It may yet be proved that Magdalenian men of the Upper Old Stone Age actually did drift or wander to America from the shores of Europe. But if they did, they assuredly did not leave many of their bodily remains in the Western continent, and, so far as is at present known, none of the works of their hands.

Evidence in support of the gradual development of the American race in complete isolation is adduced by many well-equipped scholars, who point to the distinctive character of American agriculture, with its cultivation of plants peculiar to the soil—tobacco, maize, manioc, and others—to the absence of draught and milk-giving animals, to the fact that the wheel and other mechanical devices were unknown in America, in support of their theory. But to maintain a thesis so confined in the face of well-founded proofs for the penetration of America by alien influences seems as unscientific as to adopt the opposite view and to refer the origin of American culture in its entirety to a handful of castaways. Moderately employed, both theories are capable of acceptance, but it is impossible to entertain either, when pushed to extremes, with seriousness. This is as much as to say that America, although it underwent no intentional or specific colonisation in pre-Columbian times by races or adventurers equipped for settlement, was, as all the evidence seems to show, reached by bands or units of seafarers carried thither by the ever-ready agency of the trade winds, who brought with them the knowledge, and perhaps the artifacts, of a distant and alien culture, which only partially affected and modified that of the older settlers from North-Eastern Asia.

THE PLEASANT PAINS OF MARTYRDOM

BY LEO MARKUN

IT is probable that men started to worship the gods because they feared and wished to propitiate them. Along with many other human traits, they endowed the gods with cruelty. If, as men came to believe, the earth was ruled by one or many divine beings, then earthquakes, storms, pestilences, and famines might well represent the cruel amusements of the ruling powers. This thought is expressed by the unfortunate Earl of Gloster in *King Lear*:

> As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;
> They kill us for their sport.

In various anthropomorphic systems of theology, the gods are also represented as self-cruel. The supposed suffering of divinity has at times served as a model for voluntary self-tormenting on the part of men.

Among the followers of those religions that describe two contending gods, one of good and one of evil, there is a tendency to be particularly scrupulous about the prayers and offerings due to the malignant deity. Cruel gods as well as evil demons and spirits must have their wrath constantly appeased.

Whenever good and evil are supposed to be creations of the same deity, his ire and his mercy are variously emphasized according to the theologian's training and the nature of his algohedonia, or ability to derive pleasure from pain. In the popular Christianity of today, God is usually pictured as beneficent and quick to forgive evil. Yet we often find clergymen dwelling in their sermons upon divine bloodthirstiness. This is, of course, the chief stock in trade of the sensational evangelists. Consciously or not, they are actuated by the principle that an evil divinity receives more spontaneous sacrifice than a good one does.

To Jonathan Edwards, God appeared one "that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some other loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked: His wrath toward you burns like fire." It is Gloster's figure: the divinity holding man in a cruel grip, as a boy holds a helpless insect. "To justify God's ways to man," some teachers of cruel theologies find themselves forced to say that mankind is inherently sinful.

The question why the omnipotent deity has put evil into the hearts of the men and women he has created is not easily answered. Its difficulty explains the origin of such dualistic religions as Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. These teach that the benevolent deity is not all-powerful, but is constantly engaged in a struggle with a rival malefic god. A vague dualism is often to be found in contemporary Christian preaching.

The notion that God loves pain has preserved some of its old importance among us. The priests of ancient Phoenicia taught that at one time the god El himself, in a time of great peril, had taken his only son, dressed him in noble garments, set him upon an altar and with his own hands put him to death. A similar story is set forth in the Christian holy books.

Paul's doctrine of atonement still influences Catholic and Protestant theologies. This dogma, as ecclesiastical scholars have recently pointed out, appears to be based on the same theory that inspired the Phoenician priests to insist on human sacrifices. That is, a divinity needs to be appeased. According to the early Christian writers, "God so loved the world that he sent his only-begotten son" to perish in order that human sinfulness might be forgiven. As among the Phoenicians, a benevolent god seeks out his own pain —for of course he shares that of his son—in order that his worshipers shall not be tormented, but shall have prosperity in this world or at least everlasting life in the next.

The most curious thing about the Pauline theology is that it appears to postulate an evil god whom Jehovah must thwart. This god or being appears in Christian writings as the Anti-Christ or the Devil. Marcion of Pontus, a Christian theologian and religious leader of the second century, taught that Jehovah is a bloodthirsty god against whom Jesus was sent by a higher deity.

The Old Testament furnishes several instances of parents willing to slay their children when called upon by God to do so. Abraham

does not hesitate when ordered to immolate Isaac. To be sure, a suitable substitute appears, making Isaac's death unnecessary. Jephtha, having conquered the Ammonites, fulfils his vow to burn for the Lord the first creature coming out of his house to greet him at his return. It chances to be his only daughter. Jephtha grants her a respite of two months "to bewail her virginity" in the mountains, then sacrificing her to Jehovah.

Primitive men, because their imagination is limited and their nervous system perhaps somewhat blunt, do not fully appreciate the sufferings of others. But the men who lived in Phoenicia and Palestine two or three thousand years ago were not primitive, and it is impossible to deny the algohedonic elements in their human sacrifices.

At least as late as the second Christian century, the women of Phoenicia continued to worship their gods by delivering their first-born sons to the flames. Thus especially was Baal-Moloch honored, and his worship occasionally gained recruits from the favored children of Jehovah. Sexual excesses, acts of cruelty and of self-cruelty, were mingled in the rites of Moloch.

The Egyptians, too, turned away divine wrath by destroying human life. They honored fifty or sixty varieties of sacred animals, and above all the cat, the ibis, and the beetle. Whatever man killed one of the holy animals, even accidentally, was put to death.

Human sacrifices sometimes took place in Greece when commanded by an oracle. In Homeric days, prisoners of war were often put to death for religious reasons. Homer represents Achilles as sacrificing twelve Trojans upon the funeral pyre of Patroclus, first slaying them with the sword.

The Druid priests of ancient Britain and Gaul habitually sacrificed human beings to their gods. They preferred criminals or prisoners taken in battle, but at times they burnt innocent men belonging to their own tribes. On rare occasions, their noblemen, hoping to avert some great evil, offered themselves for the sacrifice. The Scandinavians celebrated similar rites every ninth year at Upsala in Sweden. The nine sacrifices were ordinarily slaves or prisoners, but in time of danger men of rank might, as with the Druids, be among the victims. We are told that a certain Earl Hakon of Norway, wishing to obtain a victory over a band of pirates, offered his son as a sacrifice.

When the great Mohammedan conqueror, Mahmoud of Ghizni, overran India, a similar propitiation of the gods failed to stop his iconoclastic procession. Jypaul, finding himself unable to defend his dominions by natural means, resolved to offer up his own life. He was burnt to death upon a funeral pyre.

There are many algohedonic elements in Christianity. The injunction to love one's enemy and, when struck, to turn the other cheek is clearly self-cruel. Militant Christianity, in the name of the Cross, has nevertheless spread death and desolation before it, even as Islam and other religions aspiring to conquer the world. According to the tenth chapter of Matthew, Jesus said:

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law. And a man's foes shall they be of his own household. . . And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth not after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

Although Christian teachers have dwelt much upon the crucifixion of Jesus and the vicarious atonement, they have not to this day entirely abandoned the doctrine of actual punishment in the next world. Apparently, human beings are so cruel that they do not feel the utmost penalties endurable on earth to be sufficient for those whom they fear or hate; therefore they threaten them with additional penalties beyond the grave.

Jonathan Edwards and other clergymen of his time took extreme pleasure in watching the weaker members of their congregations writhe and fall into hysterics over their descriptions of endless pains. Calvinism taught that very few would be so fortunate as to escape the wrath of the Almighty. The self-cruelty underlying such a doctrine is obvious.

A cruel and gloomy religion always postualtes a cruel divinity or divinities; it is for this reason that many Christians now find the theological doctrine that emphasizes the atonement on the cross insupportable. But, to the Christian martyrs, it was a great source of joy to consider that they were following in the path of the Master. Perhaps they too were helping to win salvation for many

by means of their sufferings. Bliss shone in their eyes despite the tortures to which they were subjected.

The very religions which furnish many willing martyrs are usually those which are ready to put non-believers to death if the occasion presents itself. This is but to say that cruelty and self-cruelty always go together and are to a certain extent interchangeable.

The sons of Islam were long distinguished by their willingness to give their lives for Allah and his prophet Mohammed. They felt assured that those who died fighting for their religion entered quickly into the delights of Paradise. They seemed anxious to send infidel dogs at once to Hell, though the payment of tribute sometimes lessened their ardor.

The fact that people have believed sufficiently in a cause to die for it has usually helped a great deal in gaining converts. The blood of the martyrs, it has been said, is the seed of the Church; but, with regard to such religions as Christianity and Mohammedanism, many more have died in resisting than in testifying. However important algohedonia may be among human beings, it is normally weaker than the life-preserving attitudes and habits.

Perhaps the Jews are as a class especially self-cruel. Where their persecutions are relaxed, the tendency to intermarry with their Gentile neighbors and to lose their ethnic individuality asserts itself. Many, probably most, descendants of the Hebrews who lived a century before the beginning of the Christian era are no longer known as Jews. Great numbers of them became attached to Christianity or Islam, or died in religious persecutions. It seems highly probable that converts to Judaism have done much to make up the losses. In some cases, martyrdom and danger must have been among the chief attractions. Now that religious dissent has become somewhat less hazardous than it has been, there seems to lurk more than a trace of the love of martyrdom in the change from Judaism to Zionism, from creed to nationality, as a unifying influence, that is going on among those who call themselves Jews. Nations, not churches, go to war in our time; and nations are somewhat more intolerant of nonconformity than churches.

Martyrologies have always been more influential than learned books of religious doctrine. What Protestant treatise on theology has counted for half so much in comforting the weak in spirit as

Foxe's *Book of Martyrs?* As to the importance of the passion of Jesus, that is amply attested by the popularity of the legends and pageants founded upon it as well as by the symbolic importance of the crucifix. The most familiar parts of the New Testament are undoubtedly those dealing with the death at Golgotha.

In the early persecutions of the Christians, political motives counted for much. To render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's meant more than merely to respect his coinage and to pay his taxes. It meant also to acknowledge his divinity. To deny that he was brother to the gods was to strike directly at his authority. Monarchs call themselves divine in order to establish their rule on something firmer than armed force or the consent of the people.

The Christians were seldom handed over to priests to be sacrificed to the gods. In the Roman Empire, it is said that they were sometimes thrown into the arena to furnish a pleasant bit of amusement. Legend has it, too, that the women were on occasion given to the brothel patrons rather than to the lions.

The priests of God did not execute the heretics who were condemned to death by the Holy Office of the Catholic Church. The fiction that the Church shed no blood was maintained throughout, men and women who were to be thrown living into the fire being first hypocritically (or formally) commended to the mercy of the secular arm. Cupidity was usually joined with religious bigotry in the modern Inquisition, for the confiscations enriched the monarchs of Spain and the inquisitors.

The burnings at the *autos-da-fé* were, then, criminal executions rather than offerings to God. Occasionally a Jewish martyr, familiar with the burning of animals as a religious rite, thought of his death as an immolation. One who was offered a pardon if he should consent to renounce his faith said he preferred to die as a sweet savor before the Lord.

We read of martyrs who "washed their hands fearlessly in the flames" and whose terrible pain seemed dissolved in the bliss of their mystical union with God. As Krafft-Ebing and other psychologists have said, the extreme ecstatic effects of love, religion, and pain are the same. It may be that the hand-washing martyrs enjoyed voluptuous pleasure; and some form of cruel joy, possibly tinged with sexual associations, came to such inquisitors as Torquemada and Arbues.

Cruelty is still, of course, occasionally manifested as religious as well as racial or national intolerance. Whatever is strange is always suspect to most people. The pleasure of humiliating was responsible for the badges and other indignities imposed upon the Jews in medieval Europe. In the dominians of the Seljuk Turk Alp Arslan, the Christians had to wear heavy iron collars. In Cairo under Al Hakem, the Jews were distinguished by wooden bells, the Christians by heavy wooden crosses which they had to carry in the streets.

The universal impulse toward cruelty is always seeking out occasions to manifest itself. A good cause that affords excuses for robbing and killing or at least for insulting and calumniating: what more can a cruel monarch or mob desire? That the Crusaders who went forth to regain the Holy Sepulchre for Christianity should murder Moorish and Jewish children and violate unbaptized maidens was perhaps to be expected; but they were almost as willing to rob, murder, and rape Christians. Having enlisted to shed blood, whose blood they poured out was of secondary importance.

At Lisbon in 1509, two thousand or more newly-converted Jews were massacred by a mob at the instigation of a Dominican preacher. If the desire to serve Christ was at the bottom of the medieval religious butcheries, how shall we account for the fact that these new sheep in the fold were bloodily destroyed? The answer is obviously that it is the nature of the wolf to eat sheep, and an excuse—as Aesop's fable teaches—can always be found.

Perhaps Christianity is a religion of mildness, but Christian persecutors have been no less cruel than those eager to advance the interests of other faiths. The history of the Jews since the conversion of Constantine contains ample illustrations of this statement. The Jews have, indeed, had comparatively few chances to retaliate; but, in the sixth century, when they had helped to capture Jerusalem for the Persian forces, they are said to have massacred ninety thousand Christians. In the recent persecutions of the Armenian Christians by the Turks, the greater power rather than the greater desire to inflict cruelty seems to have been on the side of the Mussulmans. Sheep can play the part of wolves well enough if provided with the proper teeth and claws.

The persecutions and sufferings of the primitive Christians have been greatly exaggerated, as Gibbon was one of the first to show. The chief reason for the pious lies was, no doubt, the desire to prove

a miraculous propagation; but the thrill of algohedonia was also involved. Certainly many Christians were soon found willing to risk their lives in sectarian wars, and the iota differentiating the Homoousians from the Homoiousians was responsible for much shedding of blood. Some of the theological distinctions over which battles were fought Gibbon professes himself unable to understand: we can hardly suppose that the peasants who lost their lives to prove that the two persons of the one substance of the godhead had one or two wills could have argued the matter very intelligibly by word of mouth.

An incident which took place in thirteenth-century France well illustrates the fact that religious persecutors care more to shed blood than to serve religion. The city of Beziers was captured in the crusade against the heretical Albigenses. There were many good Catholics among the inhabitants, and it was not easy to tell them apart from the accursed heretics. The Abbot of Ciseaux, leader of the expedition, was asked how the true believers might be recognized. "Kill all!" cried the zealous man of God. "The Almighty will know which belong to him." Accordingly, the massacre was complete. In other cities, too, there were joyous burnings; and heretical ladies were thrown into the wells of their own castles while the soldiery applauded.

It is not necessary to assemble here the statistics of the Inquisition, variously stated as they are according to the bias of historians. There is no doubt that many thousands of human beings were solemnly handed over to the mercy of the civil authorities and just as solemnly burnt alive. Thousands more were otherwise put to death or flogged, left to rot in the prisons of the Church, ruinously fined, or otherwise forcibly taught that heresy is obnoxious to God and his representatives on earth.

"In the love of Christ and his maid-mother," said the zealous Queen Isabella of Castile, "I have caused great misery, and have depopulated towns and districts, provinces and kingdoms." If such was the effect of love, we may easily believe that love and hate produce similar results.

The Protestants of the Reformation period were no more tolerant and no less cruel than the Catholics, though their attacks on papists were less picturesque and in general less organized than those di-

rected against heretics in the countries that adhered to the Roman Church.

Many martyrs have gone to their tortures joyfully because of their belief that they were thus entering into eternal bliss. This is not ordinarily the case with atheists, agnostics, and even deists who suffer for their opinions. Bacon, in his essay "Of Atheism," interprets this fact with strange logic to mean that their very martyrdom indicates a lack of sincerity in their professions of belief. He asks, "If they did truly think that there was no such thing as a God, why should they trouble themselves?" He does not explain why they should be willing to die for denying a divinity in whom they actually believe. The atheist martyrs have made a god of truth (truth as they saw it, naturally). They have shared with other martyrs strong passive algohedonia.

Giordano Bruno, whose sole religion was the love of mankind, said, "The wise man fears not death; there may even be times when he seeks death, or at least goes peacefully forth to meet it." Like some other doubters of his time, Bruno was a monk. Believing in a pantheistic philosophy, he boldly proclaimed his belief. He persistently preserved the self-cruel courage of his convictions. Imprisoned and tortured for years, he refused to recant; and he did not wince from the flames when he was burnt at the stake in 1600.

There are men now living in North America who would gladly incarcerate or burn alive all persons whose views of infant baptism, Papal infallibility, the tariff, or Prohibition do not coincide with their own. We should permit Roger Bacon to proclaim freely that Aristotle made some mistakes—the crime, it seems, for which he was imprisoned by his superiors of the Franciscan order—because our views are not those of the thirteenth century, but we have inviolable taboos of our own. Woe unto him who neglects to honor them!

Bold inquirers are cruelly mocked, even physically abused. The churchmen are not the only persecutors. There are little men of science, unable to adjust their minds (or their habit-tracks) to new ideas, who are always ready to pounce upon original thinkers. The innovators in literature and the other arts, who open up new fields and therefore possess merit beyond the intrinsic worth of their own creations, are seldom sympathetically received.

Men of original genius must have a strong capacity for self-cruelty if they are to be successful. They must delight in the very attacks made upon them. Else they are liable to die heartbroken. Every age is one of persecution, because all the generations of man have been cruel. To the gods men and women make in their own images they are ever ready to sacrifice the heretics, the followers of other deities.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A THEORY OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

BY A. K. SHARMA

VII.

(Concluded)

THE period of symbolism was immediately followed by that of Typism. That, before migrating to India, the Aryans had reached

The period of symbolism was immediately followed by that of Typism. That, before migrating to India, the Aryans had reached a degree of culture higher than that revealed by the early hymns of the Vedas, and that, when they reached the valley of the Indus, they actually possessed some of the important characteristics of the Typal stage, are propositions which have been arrived at on socio-psychological considerations alone; and they cannot be discussed in details, in a paper like this. We realise, however that Historians are against us. According to them, the Aryans first came to India by the same North Western Route, which was taken by Alexander at a later date; then they settled down in the Punjab, composed the Vedic hymns, developed their culture, and gradually penetrated into the Gangetic valley. But lo; there they came face to face with their own cousins. How could it be? To meet this difficulty historians propound the theory of the Second Aryan "invasion." We are to suppose that certain Aryan Tribes came to India via Chitral and Gilgit, and that they marched further east, and settled down on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. We are not competent enough to argue the pro and con of these historical issues, much less to decide them. But it should be pointed out that the position of the historians has of late been seriously disputed. For instance, Dr. Waddel holds that the Aryan settlers in India came first as a sea-faring people to colonise at the mouth of the Indus. "The first

settlement and colonization of the Indus valley by these Aryan-Phoenicians is proved by the record of Uruas in regard to his having built Edin; and by the seal of Lord Mudgala as the "Capturer" and "minister" there, holding the Edin state as a captured colonly of the Sumerian Empire of Mesopotamia."[10] Referring to the so-called "Aryan Invasion" Dr. Waddel adds, "this latter event with its permanent occupation and systematic civilization of the heart of India, the Ganges valley or Hindustan, I find from a mass of new evidence, took place no earlier than the beginning of the seventh century B. C. and not by sea, but overland by Asia Minor and across the lower Indus, by a remnant of the Hittite and Aryan Syrio-Pheonician people seeking new settlements after their calamitous defeat by the Assyrian Sargon II. at Carchemish in 718 B. C."[11]

During this period the socio-psyche underwent a further dissociation; it ceased to be symbolic and entered into the typal stage. The community, which was homogeneous, broke up into various tribes, agriculture showed marked improvement; industry arose; trade advanced; an ornament called Nishka came to be the medium of exchange; and a certain berry *Labus Precatorious* was used as the unit of weight. Villages were reorganised with a view to accomodate the centers of new activities. The king shed off his religous functions, and confined himself to military, political and legal affairs. Immorality was recognised as crime, and punished as such; the business of administering punishment was taken away from the injured person and vested in the king or the magistrate; and a new set of people arose who specialized in dective work. Sons were granted the right, as sons, to a share of the ancestral property; and the head of the family was allowed to adopt some one to function as son, in case he happened to have none. The daughter-in-law of the house was entrusted with the duty of managing the house-hold, in case her mother-in-law was too old for work; and in this capacity she was to be the sole mistress. Though alphabets were still unknown an ideo-graphic system was introduced. Prose was still non-existent, but poetry developed in various metrical forms.

The most important feature of the age was the rise of caste distinctions. The sacrificial rites became complex; and since the king could not attend to them in person, he had to delegate his spiritual functions to a set of priests; hence arose the Brahaman Class. Owing to the constant friction going on either among the

[10] Waddel; *Sumerian Seals deciphered*, p. 115.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

tribes themselves, or between the tribes on the one hand and the neighbouring people on the other, it became necessary not only to organise a standing army but also to relieve the soldiers of all extraneous duties; and this led to the formation of a fighting class called Kshatryas. The rise of industry and the expansion of trade required men with special training and experience; and the result was the formation of the Vaisya class. These three classes were supposed to do work of a noble nature; and to discharge the multifarious menial services in regard to them, it was necessary to set apart a class of slaves, so made either by conquest or by purchase; and in this manner the Sudras came into existence. At first the Brahmans, the Kshatryas, and the Vaisyas enjoyed equality in status, but in course of time the status of the Brahmans and the Vaisyas came to be regulated by the position they occupied in relation to the warriors.

It was an age of types. The inner dynamic force that brought about this change was the intellect, incipient, no doubt, but still intellect. The first work of the intellect is to unify; so we find that an attempt was made to unite objects which were discrete and disconnected, and this attempt culminated in the formation of different types. To his end the old way of describing objects in terms of size, shape, colour, and other characteristics, gave place to the new method, first, of penetrating into physical appearances to discover important functions; and secondly, of describing objects in terms of them. Whenever a new object came into view, it was assimilated and placed at once within a known type. The lion, for instance, came to be called a strange dog. Every man in the community regarded himself as belonging to a particular class, with corresponding privileges and obligations; and he had a nascent sense of individuality in respect both of himself and of others. Between the utter lack of personality on the one hand, and extreme individuality on the other, the conception of the type served as the mediating link. The typal idea was so pronounced that it was taken for granted that one Brahaman was as good as another, and that any Kshatrya could function as well as any other; and if a Tacitus had observed them he would have concluded, as he did in the case of the Germans, that all members of a class looked more or less alike. These experiences reacted powerfully on the construction of the notions of deities. The proto-deities of the symbolic period were just the physical appearances themselves. In the next age they became shadowy

personalities with certain important functions attached to them. For example, while Indra was just the rain in the earlier period, he became rain-maker in the new period. Another interesting change was in the way in which the new functions were used to describe the deities. Whenever more functions than one were discovered in respect of a deity, they were not combined together in one idea; instead they were used simply to form different names; and the deity in question came to be known by as many names as the number of functions discovered in respect of him. Indra came to be known as the rain-maker, the thunder, the wielder of lightning, the cloud, and lastly the sky itself. Similarly, the Sun became the illuminator, the life-giver, the nourisher, the traveller on the sky, and also the sky. Though we have been using the word deities, we should not forget that in this period the deities had not assumed any clear-cut shapes: they still remained proto-deities of a higher quality.

In addition to the older deities, which were developed into some sort of personalities, certain new ones came to be recognised. The chief amongst them was Aditi (the boundless, the infinite). This is the first time in the life of the Indo-Aryans that a female deity came into being. This must have been the reflex of the important position accorded in the household and in the community to mothers and daughters. In contradistinction with the ordinary deities, the new ones had not to pass through physical stages, but were conceived straight away as personalities with proper functions. The real test whether a deity was Indian in origin is the way in which it was conceived: if it was described in mere physical terms, it belonged to the Iranian period; if, on the other hand, it was conceived as a person, it must have belonged to a later age; at any rate, must have been brought into existence while the Aryans were about to come to India.

The most interesting discovery of the age is yet to be mentioned. Apart from the deities, old and new, apart from the developement in their forms; there came into view a new reality, not indeed an agency but something through which the agencies worked; and this was Rtam (path). In its primary meaning it was the path of the Sun. Later on it assumed a secondary meaning and became the path of Rectitude, Truth, Goodness, and Law in general. The discovery was pregnant with possibilities. It served to modify the notion of personality in the moral direction; and it served also as the basis of the idea of transmigration.

VIII.

Human nature gravitates towards the habitual. There is a tendency in man, not merely to form habits, but under certain circumstances to fall back upon them and to let his life be governed accordingly. The habit-forming period commences almost from his very birth, and may continue even till old age. When he becomes senescent, he looses the power of adaptation and remains helpless in new situations. In his earlier days his muscle was supple and mind alert, but now the limbs are tired and the spirit weary, with the result that the old indomitable will is replaced by an utter lack of energy. Life is essentially ruled either by the future or by the past. When the capacity for vision is gone, anticipation is replaced by reminiscence, and expectation by memory. Apart from this usual phenomenon, special circumstances arise, in which a return to habit becomes almost natural. The pioneer who wants to settle down in Africa, or in the wild west of America, struggles hard against the forces of nature, and clears a certain area of land; but before proceeding further he takes care to secure what he has already won. It is a commonplace in Military affairs that a good general should consolidate his ground before he makes a further advance. From the psychical standpoint, the act of consolidation is the same, in principle, as that of fixing a habit; for in both cases the processes involve memory, recollection, and repetition.

As with the individual, so with society. To meet an exigency the socio-psyche invents a method, and by suggestion, imitation and repetition it gradually assumes the shape of custom. But when the psyche loses its capacity for reflection and organisation, by long continued subjection to authority, or what amounts to the same, when in an epicurean forgetfulness, it abandons itself to a plethora of comfort and luxury, it loses vitality, becomes effeminate, and begins to live on its own inheritance, physical and mental. Such a society is on the road to decay. The Roman Empire during the period of the Caesars was in such a condition, and so it fell to the first stroke of a barbarian. Even in the case of a vigorous society, it is necessary at times to cry a halt in the course of activities. A nation enters into a war of conquest, be it the conquest of land or that of trade, and after much difficulty gains an advantage; but before extending the sphere of operation, it has to pause, and take stock of the situation; and then employ its previous experiences to consolidate, to

stabilise, to make permanent what was only a temporary achievement.

It was an attempt like this that was made by the Indo-Aryans after they passed the Typal stage. Originally caste was based on functional suitability, and any one could change caste if he was only functionally fit. It is to this condition of affairs that Manu referred, when he observed that every man was born a Sudra, but became a Brahman, a Kshatrya, or a Vaisya, according to his function. Gradually however, the situation changed. The constant association of a function with an individual created the belief that it was only that individual who could discharge that particular function. It was only the Brahman who could officiate as priest, it was only the Kshatrya who could take up arms, and to enter into a trade was the special prerogative of the Vaisya. In this manner the mobility of the previous order vanished, and in its place a certain rigidity set in. Not only this. Function receded in the background, and memory and heredity did the rest.

Owing partly to the complexities of social life, and partly to the memory associated with certain individuals and families, privileges were conserved, and status became a matter of heredity.

But *noblesse oblige!* The men, who thus consolidated the power and priveleges, were not after all so selfish as at first sight they might appear; on the other hand, they were inspired by noble motives of social service. They evolved for each caste a code of duties and a code of honour, known by that protean term, *dharma*. The rules of the game were strictly observed, and lapses were punished by outright ex-communication. It was an altogether interesting period, it was an age of conventions, of religiousness, of chivalry, of bourgeois.

Gods followed in the wake of men. They also were caught up in the same psychic movement which brought about a change in human personalities. In this case, too, function, as the principle of determination, was replaced by memory and association; but there was this difference, that while in regard to caste the new principles were capable of direct application to their objects, they could be applied to Gods only indirectly, that is to say, to the ideas of them in human minds. Gods could not consolidate their positions; man had to do it for them. To take a typical illustration, Indra was originally conceived as a shadowy personality which could be described only

in terms of certain functions. In the new period his functions become secondary; the qualities, by means of which he came to be known, were those which were associated in people's minds with power, strength, capacity to protect and to save; these, though not sufficiently recognised hitherto, were brought in the foreground; and Indra was conceived by means of them. The result was that his personality was neatly rounded off, his physiognomy was clearly outlined, and he attained the status of a full-fledged deity, a deity *per se*, irrespective of his functions. What happened to Indra happened to other deities also, and their number was legion.

For deepening the personality of a deity, two concepts were exploited. We saw that the Indo-Aryans, like the German Philosopher Kant, were struck by two things, ADITI (Infinite) and RTAM (Law). These appealed to them in a peculiar manner, and they felt that Gods had something to do with these. The relations were expressed in rather picturesque language; Indra lived near the Infinite, Mitra was her son, and Dawn was her face; similarly Indra was the originator and preserver of law, Mitra too was its guardian, and Varuna had the same relation to it. Intellectually the deities were conceived as infinite, boundless, omnipresent, and morally they were the sources of law, truth, and goodness, and they also sat as judges on those who transgressed. Gods were thus jostling against one another, their qualities and powers overlapped, and no one had a higher status than the rest. A growing intellect would not be satisfied with the situation. How it was met, we shall see in the next section.

IX.

Hitherto the evolution of religious ideas was going on in a linear direction. After the period of conventionalism, it began to canalise itself in two branches, the moral and the intellectual. The former, if pursued, would lead to the idea of a transcendental God and the latter to that of an immanent one. If we could visualise the religious histories of various communities, we should be able to see that, up to a certain point, development everywhere involved the same principles and was going on in the same direction. After the construction of a divine personality, half moral, half intellectual, and not wholly perfect, that is to say, a personality like the one sketched in the preceding section, religious progress everywhere

took one of the two lines mentioned above. Hence the maturest idea of God in any community could only be that of a transcendental God of love or that of an immanent God of existence. This classification has been brilliantly described by Edmund Holmes. He opens his book on *"The Creed of Buddha"* with the following observations:

"The religions of the civilized world may be divided in two great groups—those of which the paramount deity is the Jewish Jehova, and those of which the paramount deity is the Indian Brahma. Jehovah reigns supreme, under the title of God the Father, over Europe and the Continents which Europe has colonised, and under the title of Allah, over Western Asia and Northern Africa. Brahma reigns in the Far East, India being under his direct rule, while Indo-China, China, and Japan belong to his "Sphere of influence". . . . . The Western mind had conceived of a natural order of things which is real because God has made it so, and of a super-natural order of things which is the dwelling place of God. . . . In the Eastern cosmology there is one world, and one centre of reality—the world of our experience seen as it is." How the idea of Jehovah was reached is not to be explained in this paper. We shall attempt on the other hand to trace the line of development which culminated in the idea of Brahman.

This further development occupied two stages, the Individualistic and the Subjectivistic. When we read the literature of the Individualistic age—the books called the Brahmanas and the Sutras—we are struck at once by the luxuriance of an intellectual growth, and dazzled by the splendour of achievements. During this period, the Aryans completed their migration into the Gangetic Valley; the tribes were regrouped; they came in contact with strange folks, fought, subdued, and civilised them. They saw new rivers, perenially flowing, and new mountains, cloud-capped and sky-kissing. They got acquainted, also, with new kinds of animals, and fresh plants and trees. All this gave them a fresh geographical outlook. Industry and agriculture were developed in details; towns and cities were founded; and the urban classes arose. The king become an emperor; law was developed; and the police and the magistracy came into existence. Alphabets were freely used, though at the end of the period; prose which began to be the medium of expression at the end of the Conventional age, was refined and used more and more for literary purposes. "Reason's aweful power gave thought

a bolder range." Knowledge increased all round: Phonetics, Etymology, Grammar, Poetics, Astronomy, Geometry, and other studies were organised and taught in various schools.

Intellect which was just emerging in the Typal age, reached the acme of progress in the age of Individualism. It was an age of enlightenment, and its *dominant* was reason; the world as it was experienced then was thoroughly analysed, examined, described, interpreted, and defined; and nothing was left out. This intellectual ferment gave a new orientation to the conceptions of men and Gods. The restless enquiry into the nature of things, and the intense efforts to reach the very foundations, coupled with fresh achievements made men conscious of themselves, as living, free, individuals.

On the religious side, also, there was a tremendous change. We saw how the deities were personified in the previous age, and how they came to be regarded as more or less alike. The situation raised important questions. Are all these deities real existences; if so, wherein lies their individuality? If God is supreme, could there be more Gods than one? Is the supremacy of one God consistent with that of the rest? Who is the real God? These questions led to what Max Muller called Heno-theism. The predicates of the supreme were successively applied to each deity; Indra, Surya, Mitra, Varuna, and the rest, were tried with a view to find out if any would satisfy the conditions of the supreme; and all of them were finally rejected. Some times this process of comparing them was graphically described as a struggle in which God vanquished God. After each deity, taken singly, failed to satisfy the test, a combination of two deities was tried. After this, too, failed, attempts were made to define the real God as a unity in plurality; that is to say, as the "all-gods." This too proved unsatisfactory. In all this the governing motives were purely intellectual. Simplicity, clearness, distinctness, and consistency were the tests.

The new God was given all the divine attributes which the Human could discover, and He was known as Visvakarman, Prajapati, Hiranyagarbha, and even Brahma. A peculiar importance attaches to these names, and it is worth while to explain it. Both in India and in Europe, thinkers have arrived at certain conclusions regarding their experiences of the world. Some of these are; that the world is an effect of some cause, that it was evolved from a primal stuff, that it involves a purpose, that it presupposes the source of moral law; and that existence is implied in thought.

These were applied in Europe "to prove" the existence of God, and they came to be known as the Cosmological, the Evolutionary, the Theological, the Moral, and the Ontological arguments. In India the same experiences were used for a different purpose. Here philosophy arose out of religion, and there was no doubting the existence of God. God was felt as being somewhere from the very beginning, His life being bound up with that of the world. From the nature of the world it should be possible, therefore, to determine, not indeed the existence, but the nature of God. He must be Viswa-Karman (the forger of the world), Praja-pathi (the Lord of creatures), Hiranya-Garbha (the golden egg), and Brahma (life and power). The name that ultimately found favour with the people was Brahma—used in the masculine gender; and it meant the Supreme Person, the Heavenly Father, the Creator, the Sustainer and the Destroyer.

Such a God most admirably suited a people, who were conscious of individuality, power, and strength; and whose ruler was not a mere king, but an Emperor, a King of Kings.

X.

The Vedic Literature, properly speaking, ends with the discovery of the Supreme God. When we turn to the Literature immediately following, i. e. to the Upanishads, we are startled by a dramatic change. Instead of being instructed further about the Father in Heaven, we are told that Brahman is Atman. What this statement means we shall consider in the next section. For the present, our interest is in the word Brahman. Originally it meant God, conceived as masculine in gender and personal in nature; but in the new formula the same word signifies the supreme, conceived as impersonal and neuter. How came this change? Search as we may all the ancient books, we shall not find the answer. None seems to have raised this question, much less given any suggestion to discover the missing links.

It is true, no doubt, that Max Muller noticed one of the questions, viz, the change in gender; but his answer is that "in choosing the neuter, the ancient sages tried to express something that should be neither male or female, that should be in fact as far removed from human nature as weak human language could well express it; some-

thing that should be higher than Masculine or Feminine."[12] But the question remains: why did the sages want the change? For answer we should go back to the previous age. The very attempt to subject the ideas of deities to a thorough-going criticism should lead naturally to the change we are discussing. Efforts were made to remove all limitations from the idea of the Supreme. To think of God as a male is to limit him by a sexual principle; He should, therefore, be lifted above sex, as being the source of sex; and this could be expressed in language only as neuter. Neuter in this context really means "above-sex" as contrasted with its meaning in popular tongue.

It is the same intellectual attempt that is responsible for the depersonalising of God. To conceive God as personal is to make Him an object to a knowing mind; and in this sense He is limited by something outside Himself. If He should be the all-embracing Absolute He should cease to be a person, that is to say, He should not be an object to any mind. But intellect can work only with the object-subject relation. If it is true to itself it should conclude that this relation does not apply to Absolute Existence, and that, for this reason, it is unable, by its very nature, to form any adequate conception. It is this honest self-confession that is responsible for the second change in the meaning of the word Brahman. How else to conceive Brahman, is a problem which is incapable of solution by the intellect itself.

XI.

The transition to the age of Subjectivism was effected in a peculiar manner. In the age immediately preceding, elaborate rules and laws were laid down to regulate even the minute details of life. This bred a sense of a lack of freedom, the young were impatient of restraints and began to harbour inner rebellion; the old who lived through all the stages of Sacerdotalism, found that life was vapid. This state of affairs was potent with danger to society. But the genius of the people was equal to the task. A way was discovered to provide a safety-valve for the feelings of the malcontents, without in the least disturbing the stability of the social order. In the latter part of the age, a Brahmanical canon was promulgated dividing the life of a man into four distinct periods. The first period was devoted to his discipline and study; after this, he married, reared a family,

[12] Max Muller. *Origin of Religion*, p. 319.

attended to sacrifical and other duties, as became a man of the world; when his hair grew grey he abdicated his worldly functions, and retired to the seclusion of the forests, and lastly, after a period of probation, he became an ascetic, and died as such.

This permissive law led to an important result. To be able to appreciate it, we should leave those feverish activities, those castes, and sub-castes, those rules and regulations on which we stumbled in every page of the Brahmanas and the Sutras, and transport ourselves to the strange atmosphere of the forest life. Kings who flung away principalities as if they were but glittering toys, Kshatryas, who sought a safe retreat from the allurements of the pomp and and glory of war, Brahmins, who, realising that ceremonials and laws had no abiding meaning, longed to spend their remaining days in quest of the Unknown; all those, resorted to the forests and formed scattered colonies. They lived in huts, improvised with grass twigs and leaves; and the Southern slope of the Himalayas was strewn with such hermitages. They subsisted on roots, berries, and fruits, and drank at the purest of fountains. They spent their time in learning from each other, in the practice of meditation, and if possible in teaching the incoming novices. Their life was ruled by sincerity. They taught nothing which they did not practise, nor practise anything in which they did not believe. They had no fear, no anxiety, no ambition; no public to please, no critic to appease; on the other hand they were as free as the air they breathed, as joyous as the birds that warbled above their heads, and as pure as the water which bubbled up from under the Himalayan glacier. And there was a sweetness, a peace, and serenity in their atmosphere.

These men had large sympathies. No grass could sprout but did not strike a chord in their bosoms, and no bird could sing without elevating the spirit of their human comrades. They transported themselves into the heart of the surrounding objects and felt as as these themselves felt. Consequently they gained a sympathetic insight; and came to understand these objects in terms of their own souls. In other words they learnt the secret of the subjectivistic interpretation, subjectivistic in the higher sense of the word.

These new experiences vitally affected their religious beliefs. We saw that the age of Individualism ended with the confession that God could not be grasped by the intellect. This made one sage cry in despair "my ears vanish, my eyes vanish, and the light also which dwells in my heart; my mind, with its far-off longing

leaves me; what shall I say and what shall I do?" Says another, "Knowing nothing myself, I ask those who know, ignorant myself, that I may learn. He who established the six worlds, is He the one who exists in the form of the unborn being?"[13] The forests announced the answer. Intellect had committed suicide, and there was no use in resurrecting it. But there was hope in the new life. The same process, which gave a thorough insight into the lives of birds, streams, and plants, ought to enable them to comprehend the Ultimate Reality. This Reality or God, if it be so, should be grasped by a method, which would not allow the distinction between the subject and the object to arise; for the apprehension should be that of an unlimited God. The artistic contemplation which they practised every day—and may we add, which is experienced by a man of genius like Goethe or Raphael—should satisfy the conditions. In such an intuition, there would be the experience of at-one-ment, without any subject-object distinction; this method, therefore, is the most adequate one to apprehend the all-Comprehensive God.

The new method would naturally lead to a new form of conception. If God and the soul could fuse in such a way as to leave no room for distinction, if, that is to say, God could become the soul and the soul God, in the act of knowing, then God should be of the nature of the soul.

Hence the formula, Brahman is Atman. But there is nothing, in experience, which is like the soul. The soul is something *sui-generis;* and what is like a soul should itself be the soul. This accounts for the secondary meaning of the formula that Brahman is the soul itself. Ultimate Reality, then does not admit of the subject-object distinction; and this is what our ancient sages meant when they called it "Advaitam." Thus the culmination of the development of the idea of God in the life of evolution which we named as the intellectual.

[13] Max Muller; *Origin of Religion,* p. 322.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW MORALITY

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

IS there such a thing as a new, modern morality? If there is, what are its sanctions, and what its scientific or philosophic foundation? Is it possible to dispense with all morals, as hosts of men and women are dispensing with all religion, or with what they *call* religion? Has there been a revolt against moral standards and principles, and, if so, what are the insurgents fighting for an inscribing on their own banners?

These and other new-old questions are discussed ably and lucidly by Walter Lippmann, a disciple of William James and Graham Wallas, in a new book entitled *A Preface to Morals.* Mr. Lippmann is a social radical, or at least an advanced or "leftist" liberal, and his views are symptomatic and significant. He arrives at no startling conclusions, it is true; but the younger generation respect him and will condescend to read and digest his ideas. To the conservatives he may be recommended as a thoughtful interpreter of ethical and sociological modernism. He puts things, moreover, in a fresh, original way even if the substance and matter of his observations possess very little originality. His book should be pondered and welcomed as a notable contribution to the social sciences.

According to Mr. Lippmann, the present generation is distinguished not by "its rebellion against the religion and moral code of its parents, but *by its disillusion with its own rebellion.*" The rebels are not happy or triumphant; they are completely emancipated, but they do not know how to use and what to do with their freedom. They profess contempt for authority, but they feel that the ousted authority has left a void that must be filled somehow. In Mr. Lippmann's words: "It is impossible to reconstruct an enduring orthodoxy, and impossible to live well without the satisfactions

which an orthodoxy would provide." Hence the unrest, the discontent, the secret quest for a new morality. Even the loudest of the rebels talk of the good life, recognizing the necessity of certain virtues and qualities in human conduct and human relations, but what *is* the good life? It is not necessary to exhort the young to be good, but it is necessary to show them what the good is and just why it is deemed good. They are profoundly skeptical, but not perverse, not unwilling to learn and to accept proof when offered what they regard as proof.

And Mr Lippmann essays to sketch or forecast the new morality, the morality that may become orthodox and serve as a dependable guide to life and conduct. He is not entirely successful in this hazardous attempt indeed, he seems at times quite arbitrary and to generalize on the slender basis of his own tentative sentiments and opinions. But, even when plainly subjective, he stimulates thought and challenges attention.

Mr. Lippmann has no patience with the shallow neo-Hedonists. He does not believe in the gospel of yielding to natural impulses and desires. He is a rationalist, not a mystic, of course, and he does not agree with those who think we are born to be miserable, or that there is some virtue in unhappiness. He is a combination of Stoic humanist and Puritan. He says, for example:

"To be able, as Confucius indicates, to follow what the heart desires without coming into collision with the stubborn facts of life is the privilege of the utterly innocent and the utterly wise. It is the privilege of the infant and the sage who stand at the two poles of experience; of the infant, because the world ministers to his heart a desire, and of the sage because he has learned what to desire."

The crux of the human problem is expressed in the last several words. We cannot, and we know we cannot, indulge our appetites and follow our instincts—for that way anarchy and madness lie. We must get understanding and acquire wisdom; we must consider others as well as ourselves; we must discipline and reconstruct ourselves to achieve the power to sublimate and harness our instincts and desires. We must become masters of our natures and learn to desire the right and good ingredients of life. And what *are* those ingredients? According to Mr. Lippmann, science and freedom of experimentation have not revised in any substantial way the cardinal precepts of the old morality or the old wisdom. To quote the author again:

"What the sages have prophesied as high religion, what psychologists delineate as matured personality, and the disinterestedness which the Great Society requires for its practical fulfillment, are all of a piece and are the basic elements of the modern morality."

The saying that all educated and cultivated men have the same religion, may not be strictly true. But Mr. Lippmann contends that all enlightened and earnest men tacitly accept the same morality, a morality based on need and genuine expediency, on reason and the fitness of things. Not, perhaps, fitness in a cosmic sense; we are less dogmatic or confident than were past generations about harmony with nature or with God; but we are incurably pragmatic, and we find that the new-old morality, when sincerely and intelligently applied, makes for the sort of values and satisfactions which we desire when we are most mature and worthy of our best selves.

Mr. Lippmann is more optimistic than most of his present or former colleagues in liberal journalism and politico-social reform. He finds much encouragement in current tendencies—in the increasing moralization of business, for example, in the rising standards of advertising, in the socialization of public utilities, in the acceptance by corporations of the principles of service in lieu of that of profit. Some of his notions seem naive and crude. But he is emphatically right in holding that the new-old morality will be judged mainly by its fruits. The spirit of inquiry and criticism can never be imprisoned again. It has been liberated for all time, and the effects of that liberation must be accepted and as far as possible be converted into goodness and beauty.

Mr. Lippmann is more instructive and helpful as an interpreter of negative phenomena than he is of the manifestations of the new, pragmatic morality. He seems to evade certain profound issues, or not to be aware of their existence. He virtually ignores the element of mysticism. He refuses to face the fact that essentially human life is tragic, unless science is radically and utterly wrong. To many Bertrand Russell's ideas of the good life, of the worship of the free man, of the future of the family and of the state, if not also of industry and economic relations generally, will seem more enlightened and better-grounded than those of Mr. Lippmann. Even so, the latter's book is to be heartily recommended for its admirable qualities.

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